

Gorbachev's position under threat as republics step up pace of independence

Soviet Union begins to fall apart

FROM MARY DEJEVSKY IN MOSCOW

THE future of President Gorbachev as head of the Soviet Union was looking increasingly uncertain last night as the disintegration of the union gathered pace and world leaders expressed their readiness to deal directly with the Baltic republics.

The position of Boris Yeltsin, the president of the Russian Federation and the key figure in moves to liberate the Soviet leader after last week's abortive coup attempt, grew stronger as decisions were made at a heady speed during the weekend.

Mr Gorbachev announced an interim committee of radical reformers to form a new central government, which included figures from the Russian Federation leadership. He had earlier announced his resignation as head of the Soviet Communist party and the dissolution of the party which had ruled the country for nearly 74 years. He is, however, still president of the Soviet Union.

But even as Mr Gorbachev worked to save the union, Mr Yeltsin and his government issued a stream of decrees claiming power for the Russian Federation, and another six of the Soviet Union's 15 republics declared their independence. Of these, the three Baltic States, annexed by

SOVIET UNION IN TURMOIL

CHANGING PLACES
New faces to point the Soviet government, economy and army in new directionsPage 2

AFTER THE PARTY
Restructuring the system in the wake of communismPage 3

THE REPUBLICS
The darker side of Russian nationalism as light dawns in the BalticsPage 4

CHAPTER CLOSES
Michael Binyon looks back over 86 years of Bolshevism and communismPage 5

WESTERN AID
British minister to visit Baltics for first time in 51 yearsPage 7

Akhromeyev, the former Soviet armed forces chief of staff and his personal military adviser, committed suicide.

Mr Yeltsin said in a television interview yesterday that Mr Gorbachev had to share the blame for last week's failed coup because he had picked the men who organised the plot. "You cannot absolve him of his guilt in the coup," he said. "Who chose the officials? He did. Who confirmed them? He did. He was betrayed by his closest people."

Yevgeni Shaposhnikov, the new defence minister, told Soviet television yesterday that the military command would be replaced en masse in the wake of the coup. "Eighty per cent of the command will be renewed," he said.

As the governments of the Ukraine, the second most populous republic in the Soviet Union, Belorussia and Moldavia took clear steps towards independence at the weekend, Mr Yeltsin strengthened his position further by announcing Russia's formal recognition of the independence of the Baltic republics and urging Mr Gorbachev to do the same.

The Belorussian government, one of the most conservative in the union, declared its independence yesterday, only hours after Nikolai Demchenko, its president, resigned over criticism that he had failed to oppose the hardline coup. The Moldavian parliament will debate its proclamation of independence tomorrow and the Ukraine has declared its independence, subject to a referendum in December.

The Baltic republics - Estonia, Lithuania and Latvia - are making the most of the present turmoil to advance their drives for independence. Both the Estonian and Latvian presidents flew to Moscow over the weekend to meet the head of the KGB, defence and interior ministers and Mr Yeltsin. They did not meet Mr Gorbachev.

According to the Tass, the discussions concentrated on arrangements for the "liquidation" of the KGB in the two republics. With Estonia, the talks were also said to have touched on provisions for guarding the state frontier. With Latvian leaders, discussions were said to have included "further co-operation between the constitutional institutions of Latvia and those of the USSR".

Last night the foreign ministers of the three Baltic republics left for Iceland which has already granted Continued on page 2, col 1

Bernard Levin, page 14
Diary, page 14
Leading articles and Letters, page 15

LITHUANIA: President Vytautas Landsbergis said that independence was now a formality. OMON troops retired from their Vilnius barracks to a nearby Army base. Republic announced that it will take over its own borders and issue visas.

ARMENIA: Government ordered Communist Party to vacate its Headquarters which would be transferred to Armenia's foreign affairs and trade ministries. Armenian President told Communists to purge themselves.

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Flag day: youngsters flying the Russian national flag in Moscow yesterday

Raisa's health improving

BY OUR FOREIGN STAFF

RAISA Gorbachev is recovering at home from the illness which struck her while she and her husband were being held in the Crimea during last week's coup attempt.

Mrs Gorbachev, aged 59, was reported to be suffering

from partial paralysis of her left arm and from slurred speech when she returned to Moscow on Thursday after the failure of the coup. But a Soviet official told the BBC Radio Four programme *The World This Weekend* yesterday: "The good news is that Raisa Maximovna is recuperating."

Igor Malashenko, of President Gorbachev's press office, said the Gorbachevs were staying in their country home northwest of the capital. Mr Gorbachev's chief spokesman, Vitali Ignatenko, said the first lady "is sick. But I cannot say it is serious." Neither he nor Mr Malashenko would specify her ailment.

Asked about reports that she had suffered a heart attack or nervous breakdown, Mr Ignatenko said: "You could say everything." He declined to explain. He added: "Of course there is a doctor there, but one cannot speak about treatment."

According to John Bonn, visiting professor in psychological medicine at City University, London, and a leading stress expert, Mrs Gorbachev may be suffering from dissociative reaction - a medical condition triggered by sudden, even anticipated stress (Nick Nuttall writes).

This overloads the central nervous system which, in turn, cuts off functions to parts of the body as possibly a defence - a condition which afflicted some shellshocked soldiers in the two world wars causing memory loss and making some unable to pick up their guns.

It could also be the condition underpinning Mrs Gorbachev's reported ill health after the dramatic events, said Dr Bonn. "She has been a hostage... she is an intelligent woman. This must have been a bigger shock than most for her given her position and that she was probably half expecting it."

Hint of regret at the passing of an old friend

BY ALAN HAMILTON

BRITISH communists have accepted the death of an elderly Soviet parent with equanimity tinged with a hint of regret at the passing. They have, after all, had six years to adjust to the inevitability of old age and encroaching decrepitude.

Born in 1920 to spread the gospel of the October revolution to the British factory floor, the Communist Party of Great Britain decided on a radical change to its name, image and objectives months before the Moscow coup, and has therefore ridden out the events of recent days almost with an air of "I told you so." Nina Temple, its general secretary, said yesterday that President Gorbachev's actions were an inevitable outcome of the process he started several years ago.

Miss Temple, aged 35, who took over as British party chief from the hardliner

Gordon MacLennan last year, said Mr Gorbachev's initial response when he returned to Moscow after the coup had been hopelessly inadequate, and that it would have been impossible to have a party so implicated in the coup retaining control of the army and the KGB. "He had not grasped the situation that had occurred," she said.

But while expressing her party's pleasure at the failure of the coup, Miss Temple said there was now concern that the new regime in Russia was introducing authoritarian measures with the banning of a political party and some newspapers. She urged Mr Gorbachev to throw in his lot with such figures as his former adviser Aleksandr Yakovlev and his former foreign minister Eduard Shevardnadze, to build a new coalition around a democratic left party.

Miss Temple is the acceptable face of

the new British communism, which has abandoned old-style Marxist-Leninist thought in favour of feminism, ecology and other more fashionable issues. If the British party has its planned congress in November, it will change its name to Democratic Left, and will abandon its red and black logo in favour of one in which purple and green predominate. The colours will be useful in distinguishing the new, purged communists from the Liberal Democrats.

With membership down to little more than 6,000, and a share of the popular vote in the 1987 general election that fell somewhat short of 0.1 per cent, the party finally decided to abandon the class struggle in 1988. It continued to attack Thatcherism for promoting inequality, and countered with its own proposals, that would once have been blatant

Continued on page 2, col 8

Baltic states pile on the pressure

The Baltics are exploiting their present advantage by driving as speedily as possible for diplomatic recognition. Anatol Lieven reports from Riga

Lennart Meri, Estonia's foreign minister, proposed a "10-day action programme" towards full Western diplomatic recognition of the Baltic states. Most observers think that he did not have any very clear programme in mind - but something like this is, in fact, happening.

All three Baltic states are exploiting their present advantage to drive as speedily as possible for diplomatic recognition. The Lithuanian parliament has said that from this week, the republic will control its western borders and issue its own visas.

A Lithuanian deputy said that, due to lack of preparation, this would be mainly symbolic and would not amount, at best, to more than raising Lithuanian flags over border posts, which are still controlled by Soviet customs officers and border troops. However, even symbolic control of frontiers could be important in the struggle for diplomatic recognition.

All three Baltic foreign ministers yesterday left for Iceland, which has already given them diplomatic recognition.

The ministers are to meet the Icelandic president in the house where President Reagan and President Gorbachev held the Reykjavik summit. Tomorrow, they are to go on to Germany to meet its foreign minister, Hans-Dietrich Genscher.

Boris Yeltsin, following Russia's recognition of Latvian and Estonian independence this weekend, has urged Mr Gorbachev and the Soviet parliament to do the same today. Given Mr Yeltsin's ascendancy, this seems likely.

If so, Western governments will have little excuse to delay recognition, and several Scandinavian governments are moving rap-

idly towards it. One diplomat said that he expects that at next month's meeting of the European Conference on Security and Co-operation, Baltic representatives may sit as full members.

After weekend talks in Moscow with Mr Yeltsin, the Latvian leader, Anatolij Gorbunovs, said yesterday that he had the impression from speaking with the new KGB chief, Vadim Bakatin, that Mr Gorbachev's attitude to independence is "still reserved, or even negative".

Mr Gorbunovs said that he felt for the first time that Soviet representatives were serious about negotiations towards independence. The Latvian delegation met Viktor Baranikov, the new interior minister, and Yevgeni Shaposhnikov, the defence minister. Agreement was reached on several issues. As in Lithuania, the Black Berets (OMON) are to be dissolved, and weapons they seized from the Latvian interior ministry are to be returned.

A commission from the KGB in Moscow is to be sent to Riga to "solve problems arising from the... parliament resolution on Saturday abolishing the KGB in Latvia".

The two sides agreed to prepare a special protocol that will define the position of Soviet forces in Latvia, banning their intervention in Latvia's internal affairs and regulating their positions and movements and the rights and obligations of officers' families.

Mr Gorbunovs faced questioning from Latvian journalists about the fact that despite Latvia's declaration of independence, Latvian deputies will still attend the Supreme Soviet in Moscow this week, if only to contribute to the debate on Baltic recognition.



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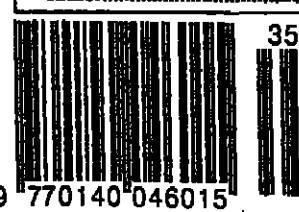
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Arts.....	13,18
Births, marriages, deaths.....	16,17
Classified.....	17,28-31
Court & social.....	16
Crosswords.....	17,20
Education.....	28,29
Leading articles.....	15
Letters.....	15
Life and Times.....	12
Obituaries.....	16
Sport.....	21-27
TV & radio.....	19
Weather.....	20



سكس امارات

Worries over political turmoil as architect of doomed 500-day plan sets out to end command system

Rapid economic reform in prospect as radicals step in

By GEORGE SIVELL

RAPID reform of the stricken Soviet economy became a serious prospect for the first time last night after the appointment of a committee of four leading radicals to dismantle the old communist command system.

The committee will be headed by the Russian prime minister, Ivan Silayev, and will include Grigory Yavlinsky, the radical economist whose previous reform attempts have been frustrated. The other members are Moscow's deputy mayor, Yuri Luzhkov, and the Gorbachev associate Arkady Volynsky. Mr Silayev declared that Russia would run the Soviet economy until a new Soviet government is formed.

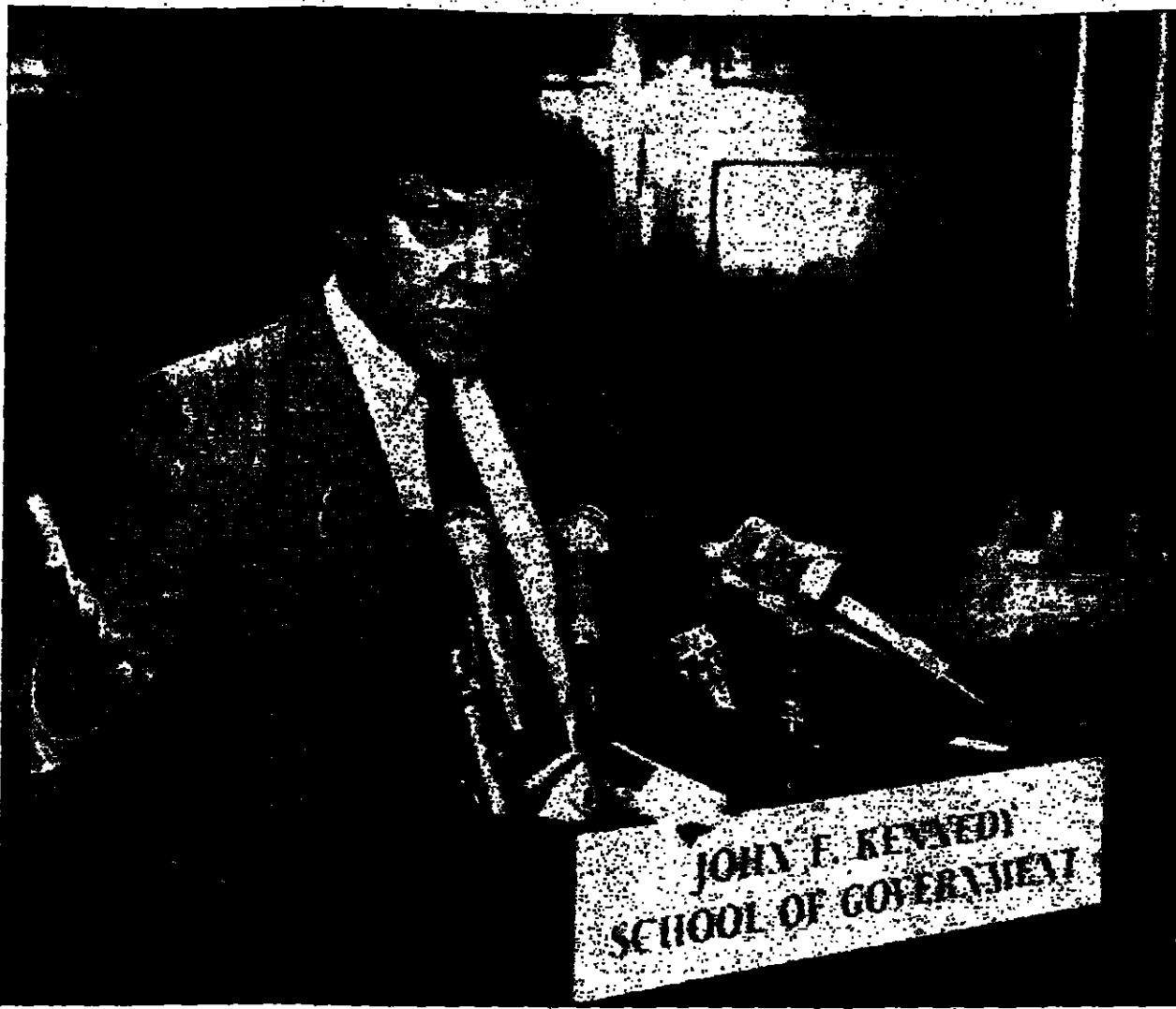
However, concern remains that political turmoil may threaten financial stability if there are purges of state institutions suspected of complicity with coup plotters. Diplomats also say that there will be uncertainty as republics seek control over natural resources and as free markets start.

Mr Yavlinsky's first reform, the 500-day plan, was drawn

up last year to kick start a market-based economy from the stagnant legacy of the Brezhnev years. To the ordinary Soviet citizen last year, three years of perestroika had brought only inflation and declining living standards. To Western observers, it was apparent that the Soviet Union was in recession and suffering from failure to invest in modern production.

However, the plan was compromised out of existence by the Soviet parliament. Instead, the former prime minister, Valentin Pavlov, one of the coup plotters, went ahead with his own, much more moderate plan, criticised by Mr Yavlinsky as a recipe for economic disaster.

Mr Yavlinsky's second attempt, the Grand Bargain, was more drastic, if only because the Soviet economy had worsened significantly since drafting of the 500-day plan. The Grand Bargain was, however, watered down by President Gorbachev and rejected by the Group of Seven leading trading nations in London in July. Now hopes are high that



Man with a plan: the economist, Grigory Yavlinsky, chosen yesterday for dismantling the Soviet Union's command system

COLLAPSE OF EMPIRE

Why Russia must not slip back into its dominant role of old

By GEOFFREY HOSKING

AS THE Soviet peoples begin to rebuild their futures without a dominant Communist party, what can they do to ensure a modicum of stability in the short term? I believe we can learn much about the new interplay of political power by looking at the course of the abortive coup.

The coup failed because a legitimate and effective Russian parliament and a popularly elected Russian president were in place as focuses of resistance and displayed the skill and courage to use their opportunity. If they had not done so, there would have been nowhere for defenders of democracy to assemble, nowhere for army units that rejected the junta to defend.

Under the tsars as well as under the communists, Russians have tended to equate their nation with empire. In ruling over the most extensive and ethnically diverse empire on earth, Russians have merged their own national institutions with those of the empire in a way that has prevented them establishing a normal nation-state.

The empire was conquered and held at enormous cost to Russians, in terms of exhaustion or resources and of alien penetration of the body politic. The Tsars co-opted foreign nobles to run their empire and eased the peasantry to provide recruits for the army and to pay taxes to finance it. The Soviet leaders even more ruthlessly exploited and oppressed the Russian people to nourish their apocalyptic internationalist vision.

Yet - and here is a strange paradox - this was done in the Russian language by Russian administrators and army officers in the name of a vision of history which grew out of the Russian intellectual tradition. No wonder the non-Russian peoples felt they were the victims of national oppression.

Not the least remarkable achievement of Boris Yeltsin

and his parliament has been to promulgate a series of laws and treaties which at last disentangled Russia from its empire. Last summer Russia did this by declaring its sovereignty. Instead of treating the non-Russians as exploitable subjects of empire, Mr Yeltsin approached them as equal partners, concluding with them treaties as between independent nation states. He set about asserting control over Russia's natural resources and its finances, withholding tax contributions to the Union exchequer, and thus precipitating a budgetary crisis. At the very time the coup struck, he was engaged in setting up a Russian KGB and closing down Communist party cells.

That this distinction between Russia and the Soviet Union was beginning to have a real effect on ordinary people's perceptions is demonstrated by the behaviour of many army officers and KGB officials during the coup. They seem to have hesitated between obeying a legitimate Russian government and an illegitimate all-Soviet one, and some of them came down on the side of the former. For the first time Russian patriotism expressed itself independently of empire. That is a development of immense importance.

Yet at the very moment when he had given this distinction real political significance, Mr Yeltsin chose to blur it. He has temporarily assumed command of Soviet armed forces on Russian territory and banned party cells there. He has appointed, or at least decisively influenced the appointment of commanders in the Soviet armed forces and security services. He has banned all-Union newspapers such as *Pravda*, and the Russian prime minister, Ivan Silayev, is to head an emergency committee to appoint a new all-Union cabinet of ministers.

It may seem pedantic to insist on these constitutional niceties at a time of upheaval. Certainly, if the Communist party, which has formed the sinews of all-Union power for seventy years, is to be dis-

banded, something needs to take its place, and arguably the executive power of Russia is the appropriate short-term substitute. But structures set up in an emergency have a way of turning out to be permanent, and the non-Russian republics will react very sensitively to any indication that Russia is settling back into a dominant role.

It is crucial, in short, that an effective all-Union (not Russian) authority structure can be devised to carry the fifteen republics through to the moment when they can determine their new relationships with one another on a long-term basis. Someone has to negotiate with the West, to ensure food and fuel supplies. But it is important that Russia does not resume by default responsibilities and powers which it has only recently relinquished to everyone's benefit. Perhaps here there is, after all, a vote for Mr Gorbachev.

The author is Professor of Russian History at the School of Slavonic and East European Studies, London University.

Passing regret for a British stalwart

Continued from page 1

heresy, for wider home ownership and shareholdings for everyone over 18. When the Berlin wall came down, the party claimed it had been at odds with the socialist system in Eastern Europe for some time. When Miss Temple took over she declared: "No one committed to a Leninist overthrow of capitalism will feel at home here."

Events in the East have caused schism in British communism. While the mainstream embraced the softer ideals of Euro-communism, the Stalinist hardliners, known in the movement as "bunkies", split off and now have their own tiny break-away New Communist Party, which last week gleefully welcomed the coup for injecting "uncertainty into the ranks of all the imperialist powers whose system of capitalism is in deep and chronic economic crisis".

Michael McGahay, former Scottish miners' president and a lifelong tankie, said with something approaching nostalgia yesterday: "I am extremely sad at the demise of the Soviet Communist party and yet at the same time I am hopeful because, as Gorbachev said, Soviet communists are not all crooks. Those honest communists in the Soviet Union who fought for the basic ideas of communism will come back. When hard decisions have to be made workers will organise collectively, and will organise politically into communist and socialist movements to resolve their problems."

Although he has never made any secret of his views, there may be many other communists and crypto-communists in Britain who have gone to ground. The views of Arthur Scargill, until recently the nation's highest-profile left-winger, might have been enlightening, but reporters who sought him found he had disappeared on holiday. Recent events suggest that may not be the wisest course.



Temple: new thoughts on Leninist policies

NEW ECONOMY CHIEF

Learning to love the open market

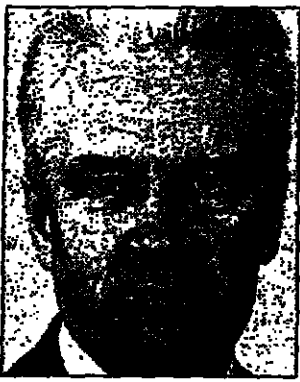
IVAN Silayev, who has been named by President Gorbachev to head a new administration to take charge of the Soviet economy - effectively acting Soviet prime minister - is a prominent reformer who believes the country must lose its "socialist virginity" and move quickly towards a free market. The radical economist Grigory Yavlinsky was named as one of three deputies.

As prime minister of the Russian Federation from June 1990, Mr Silayev led moves to wrest power over its vast natural resources from the Kremlin and loosen state control of the crisis-ridden economy.

Silver-haired Mr Silayev, aged 60, was constantly at Boris Yeltsin's side as the Russian president marshalled resistance to the attempted coup and thwarted the attempt by Communist hardliners to oust Mr Gorbachev as Soviet leader. Mr Silayev was among senior Russian officials who flew on Wednesday to the Crimea, where Mr Gorbachev had been held under house arrest for three days, and brought him back to Moscow once he was re-installed in office.

As Russian premier, during what he called "the most difficult and dynamic year of my life", Mr Silayev drew up a programme to privatise small industries and agriculture, transform big state concerns into joint-stock companies, help entrepreneurs by cutting taxes and duties, stabilise the rouble and combat inflation.

"For too long we preserved our socialist virginity and saw each real step towards the market as an unsavoury retreat to practices established throughout the world from Shanghai to New York," he said when presenting the plan last March. "We believe there should be an energetic transi-



Silayev: on way to losing "our socialist virginity"

tion to a market economy in a very short time."

Mr Silayev is also a co-founder, with prominent liberals including Eduard Shevardnadze, the former foreign minister, and Aleksandr Yakovlev, a former Gorbachev aide, of a new centrist movement intended to challenge the Communist Party for power. As he takes charge of the Soviet economy, he faces several challenges: reviving production which has collapsed amid worker unrest, taming inflation, mending the chronically inefficient production system and putting basic consumer goods onto empty shop shelves.

Born near Gorky, southeast of Moscow, Mr Silayev trained as an engineer and mechanic, joined the Communist Party in 1959 and went on to become director of the Gorky aviation factory in 1971. From 1974 he served as a deputy aviation industry minister and later headed the aviation ministry. From 1985 to 1990 he was a Soviet deputy prime minister.

He and his wife, Tamara, have two sons. He lists his hobby as playing tennis, the favourite game of his boss, Boris Yeltsin.

Britain appears ready to back aid than before the July summit. At the weekend, John Major said: "What the Soviet Union needs is help to exploit its natural resources. Our ability to help was impeded by the old socialist order, which is collapsing in the Soviet Union, as elsewhere. Now, we must deliver our help effectively and deliver it to the republics as well as to the centre." Germany is also keen, but resistance was apparent last week from America and Japan.

Britain's "know-how" fund already gives technical help to projects in the republics.

Britain and Italy will support an application for full Soviet membership of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank to help the Soviet Union to attract economic aid.

Soviet Union begins to fall apart

Continued from page 1

them diplomatic recognition, to meet the Icelandic president.

France, Denmark and Norway also announced their recognition of the three republics and Sweden is expected to follow suit tomorrow. Roland Dumas, the French foreign minister, said that France had never acknowledged the annexation of the Baltic republics and he hoped that ties would be established jointly by the European Community.

Uffe Ellemann-Jensen, the Danish foreign minister, said yesterday that Denmark would establish full embassies in the republics within a few days. "We have long had a special relationship with the Baltic countries," he said in an interview with Danish radio. "There is broad political support in Denmark for a resumption of full diplomatic relations now that the Balts have regained control of the region." The minister said he had written to his colleagues in the European Community to urge them to take similar action.

The EC foreign ministers are due to meet this week to discuss the changes taking place in the Soviet Union. Although the Russian government's endorsement of the Baltic republics' declarations of independence mean that eventual EC recognition is certain, the ministers' enthusiasm to act will be tempered by fears over how Mr Yeltsin will react to moves by other republics to secede.

The European Community ministers are also aware that the separation of the Soviet Union into its constituent parts cannot take place without increasing the risks of ethnic fighting in the republics.

Douglas Hurd, the foreign secretary, said yesterday that the three Baltic republics seemed to be well on the way to independence and he said that Douglas Hogg, the junior foreign minister, will visit them in the next few days to report on their independence negotiations with Moscow.

The visit, which will be the first by any British minister since the republics were an-

nexed by the Soviet Union 51 years ago, comes amid growing signs that Britain will grant them full diplomatic recognition.

John Major, who will fly to the United States tomorrow for talks with President Bush, said yesterday that communism was dying and he believed that it would be unmoored. However, he cautioned against writing off the Soviet leader. "Nobody should forget the immense contribution he has made over the last seven years," the prime minister said.

"Mr Gorbachev still has an important role to play. I look forward to doing business with Mr Gorbachev, Mr Yeltsin and the other Soviet leaders."

In Washington Brent Scowcroft, the national security adviser, said yesterday that America had always acknowledged that the Baltic republics were separate states by failing to acknowledge their annexation. He told CBS television that the administration hoped that the Soviet Union would promptly grant the

republics their independence, and he said that he believed the Supreme Soviet would consider the issue today. "We have indications that such a motion will be introduced by one of the deputies," he said.

The White House indicated yesterday that Mr Bush would give the Soviet Union preferential trading status "within days" and James Baker, the US Secretary of State, pledged that America would support the Soviet people if they showed the will to implement sweeping economic and political reforms.

Mr Bush agreed on Saturday to approve Mr Gorbachev's request for \$1.5 billion (\$89 billion) of agricultural credit guarantees, and Mr Baker said that Washington was developing a package of measures to support Soviet reform which it would co-ordinate with other Western governments.

Bernard Levin, page 14
Gorbachev's tragedy, page 14
Daisy, page 14
Leading articles and Letters, page 15

ARMED FORCES

Demolition of party will rock lines of command

DISMANTLING the Soviet Communist party will have a crushing effect on the control and structure of the armed forces. It must have been the final blow for Marshal Sergei Akhromeyev, former chief of the general staff, the latest senior figure to commit suicide.

The end of this old military bear will be reflected across the whole armed forces hierarchy. For Marshal Akhromeyev the Communist party was the rock upon which the discipline and ideological control of the armed forces was based.

For the West, there is now no certainty over who is in control of the 3.5 million-strong Soviet armed forces, who controls the political safeguards for the country's nuclear arsenal, and how the dramatic change in the Soviet Union's military organisations will affect Nato policy and European defence strategy.

The nuclear issue remains crucial. Although statements in the past 48 hours from President Bush have been deliberately low key, it is vital for the West that there is central political control of the Soviet Union's vast nuclear stockpile.

The emergence of independent republics, some of them with nuclear weapons bases, should not alter the chain of command that has existed for decades. The 260,000-man strategic rocket forces guard the nuclear weapons, with the KGB's third directorate holding overall monitoring responsibility.

Western experts believe that while President Gorbachev retains power in Moscow, even though diminished, he will continue to

The Communist party's influence in the armed forces was awesome. Michael Evans charts the difficulties ahead

have executive responsibility for the country's ultimate deterrent. However, the dramatically changed fortunes of the Soviet Communist party will undermine all the accepted traditions of the armed forces. There are one million Communist party members in the armed forces; 75 per cent of the officers and all ranks from colonel upwards are party members.

The size of the political indoctrination organisations in the armed forces is awesome. Until recently, the number of political officers was about 55,000, equivalent to the British Army of the Rhine. Colonel-General Nikolai Shlyaga, first deputy defence minister and chief of the main military political directorate, said recently that the introduction of other political parties into the armed services would lead to "massive disorder and ideological instability".

The Soviet high command has always rejected any idea of pluralism in the armed forces but, to try to appease the reformers, it was announced in July last year that the political organisation would be split. General Shlyaga's indoctrination units were to switch their attention to education and social welfare. But this was just a cosmetic exercise, according to Craig Olliphant, of the Soviet studies centre at Sandhurst military academy.

any. The recruits for the new organisation were all old indoctrination officers.

General Shlyaga, whose career must be in jeopardy, claimed the whole political organisation cost only the equivalent of one giant Antonov transport plane. But its influence and control throughout the armed forces remained absolute.

There are 37,000 party political cells, run by Lieutenant-General Mikhail Surkov, another officer with an uncertain future. He claimed recently that although 34,600 servicemen left the party last year, 41,474 others joined up.

Marshal Akhromeyev's suicide will be seen as a symbolic gesture by one of the principal members of the old guard, the ultimate protest against reforms. Others taking less drastic steps are likely to be purged in the months ahead.

The Colonel-General of Aviation, Evgeny Shaposhnikov, the new defence minister, has promised there will be no witch-hunt. Yet the removal of the Communist party hold over the armed forces will make a purge unavoidable. Change will take time. The Soviet military system is a dinosaur and a decree from Moscow will not remove the Communist party structure overnight.

Boris Yeltsin, the Russian president, will also want to ensure that he keeps the armed forces on his side. He will continue to pull the strings behind Mr Gorbachev on defence policy, and if he takes power eventually, he will need a loyal general staff behind him.

Obituary, page 16

Gorbachev's secret video is shown

A videotape President Gorbachev made to refute coup plotters was shown on American television yesterday. On the tape, he noted claims by Gennadi Yanaev, former vice-president, that he was ill and unable to carry out his duties. "But I'm completely well," he said.

"There has been a deception of the people and on the basis of this deception, this lie, there has been an anti-constitutional coup," he said on the tape, which began with footage apparently taken earlier in the day of his granddaughter ballet dancing.

He seemed angry at Yanaev's participation in the coup. "Everything that has been said by Comrade Yanaev... is an outright lie against the people."

Honecker threat

Erich Honecker, the former East German leader who fled to Moscow in March, will probably be returned to Germany after the failed coup, the Hamburg-based newspaper *Bild am Sonntag* reported yesterday. An adviser to Mikhail Gorbachev said that Honecker had been illegally taken to Moscow by Soviet hardliners.

Republic protest

Several thousand demonstrators seized control of the local parliament and television station at Grozny, capital of the Caucasian autonomous republic of Chechen-Ingush, accusing local leaders of supporting the failed coup. Tass reported.

Korean pledge

South Korea will improve relations with individual republics of the Soviet Union for mutual benefit, Lee Sang-ock, the foreign minister, said yesterday. He also said that Seoul would proceed with its pledged \$3 billion (£1.76 billion) economic aid package.

NEW MYTHS

One small heroic confrontation that started the revolution



Still marching in Red Square yesterday

SEVEN days after the failed coup which unleashed a revolution, everyone knows the people of Russia rose up as one to defend their democracy against a vicious enemy. They rushed to the barricades, they risked their lives against guns and tanks, and they emerged victorious. As the years go by, Russians will lay flowers on the graves of the three young heroes whose blood was spilt for freedom and they will recall with pride the night when the uprising began.

They will be right to do so, but they will also be wrong. For the myths of the August revolution which undid the October revolution are already overtaking the reality of those chaotic days, and memories are fading as new impressions eclipse the old in minds already clogged with change.

On that Monday morning, very few gathered at the Russian parliament or saw the building as the focus of protest. More gathered by Moscow city council, identified with the city's democrats, and others chose Manezh square, the traditional site for demonstrations, or Pushkin Square, the Hyde Park Corner of Moscow.

The first genuinely heroic act of the day, possibly the single act that determined the course of events, was

The myths of the August revolution are already supplanting its realities in the hearts and minds of the Russian people, Mary Dejevsky writes

entirely spontaneous. Boris Yeltsin, the Russian Federation's elected president, decided, seemingly on the spur of the moment, to confront the opposition head on and in person. He was inside, addressing foreign diplomats and the press, when the first tank column rolled up outside. After closing the meeting, he picked up a copy of his "appeal to the people" and strode out of the main door towards the tanks. The small crowd of aides and deputies around him shouted that his protection was insufficient, that he should not take such a risk, but he would not be stopped.

After exchanging a few words with the tank crews, he climbed on top of a tank and read his "appeal" denouncing the coup and calling for the restoration of the constitution, the defence of parliament and a general strike. The pictures went around the world, the words were broadcast back into the Soviet Union.

Even then, Russians did not

immediately rally to their president's cause. The first barricades were erected towards evening, but the number of people who answered the call to defend the Russian parliament through the night was not impressive. The weather was cold and very wet. The defenders of parliament were only starting to get organised. Willing helpers, young and old, wandered around aimlessly outside. Would-be barricade-builders lugged great hunks of iron and concrete, only to have to find they weren't wanted. Some people were drunk. On that night it appeared not only that the defences could be easily breached, but that the "Russian people" were far from united in their purpose.

Only the next morning, still in the pouring rain, did people come in any numbers. The protest rally, at midday on Tuesday, marked the beginning of the popular resistance. That was when the Russian parliament became the focus of resistance and when people left work to join its defence.

The following night was the night of battle. Except that — remarkably in a city stuffed with military hardware — there was only one battle, when a tank column rammed into the outermost barricade. It is not even clear whether that barricade was positioned primarily to defend the Russian parliament or as an annoyance, because it was positioned not on the direct route to the parliament, but on the inner ring road which at that point crosses underneath it.

The previous day that barricade had infuriated Moscow drivers because it blocked the ring road and caused hopeless traffic jams. Because of this, some suggest that the attack on that barricade was not a prelude to storming the Russian parliament at all, but an attempt to clear the ring road to keep the city moving the next day.

Be that as it may, a teeming crowd gathered when news was broadcast of the approaching tank column. As the first tank approached the underpass, it was reportedly attacked from both sides and from above by petrol bombs. A human chain defending the barricade at the other side of the underpass did not flinch until it was clear that the lead tank would not or

could not stop. Eyewitnesses agree that what happened next is confused. Most people in the chain ran to either side. Of those who died, two are reported to have been killed by the lead tank, the third is said to have climbed on top of one of the tanks and been shot by the driver when he forced open the hatch.

Strictly off the record some will also say that the actions of the three young men were foolhardy and their sacrifice needless. Was the tank column ordered to clear the barricades regardless of loss of life, or did its driver panic? Did the two young men stand firm or fail to get out of the way in time? Now, it matters little. The people's revolution has its martyrs. Only three, but enough.

The deaths and the enraged response of the crowd helped to persuade the Moscow commander that any attempt to storm the Russian parliament would involve unacceptable bloodshed. A meeting of the tank command in Moscow halted any further advance. Already whole divisions were refusing to enforce the emergency. That small confrontation on a city intersection may none the less have saved the Russian parliament.

THE PROVINCES

Communist slide in the cities greater than in rural areas

From BRUCE CLARK IN MOSCOW

IN THE main cities of the Soviet Union, the devastating blows suffered by the Communist party should clinch the final victory for pro-market radicals who have been struggling since last summer for real control over public life.

Last week's events will also transform the political situation in medium-sized cities, where the balance of real power has been see-sawing between the reformers and old-guard Communists.

But in remote areas, where perestroika is little more than a slogan and no newspapers except conservative organs such as *Pravda* and *Sovetskaya Rossiya* have ever been received, the political transformation at the centre may paradoxically have little practical effect. The betting must be that local bureaucrats and collective farm chairmen will hold on to their power, having neatly substituted the symbols of Russia — or of whatever republic they live in — for their Communist badges of office.

Ever since the parliamentary elections of spring 1989, and the republican and city ballots of a year later, Soviet politics has been a struggle between the ambitions of elected assemblies and the entrenched power of the Communist establishment.

Leningrad and Moscow, for example, elected stridently reformist city council presidents — Anatoli Sobchak and Gavril Popov — who initially found themselves frustrated by the limits of their authority. As council chairmen, they had to hold the ring between a gaggle of quarrelsome and inexperienced radicals while much of the real control over municipal affairs lay with the executive branch of city government, where many officials were staunch, old-fashioned Communists.

Communist influence was also strong in the administration of individual urban districts, of which Moscow, for example, has 33. And many radical city councils were further hemmed in by the fact that adjacent rural areas were under the unquestioned control of the Communists — who

were widely suspected of political sabotage by withholding foodstuffs from the "democratic" communities.

Mr Sobchak and Mr Popov chalked up big victories in their struggle for power in June, when both men secured re-election as executive mayor with enhanced powers; now they should be able to deliver the Communists the coup de grace.

Even after its removal from formal power last year, the Communist party remained a force to be reckoned with because of its strategically located buildings and through its communications network. While the party's declared hard-currency revenue was minimal — essentially the contributions of members living abroad — the party never seemed to have any trouble procuring the funds to buy imported Scandinavian pine and other luxurious fittings for its premises.

Now all these assets will pass into municipal hands. Thus the Central Committee's Oktyabrsky hotel, for example, will be transferred to Moscow city council, along with the dollars paid by the increasing number of foreign businessmen who use it.

In Leningrad — whose formal renaming as St Petersburg must now be imminent — the elected authorities have already reasserted control over the Communist party headquarters in the Smolny institute, a college for noblewomen before Trotsky proclaimed it the headquarters of the revolution. But in many small towns no transfer of premises will be noticed because the gorkom (Communist party committee) and the gorispolkom (city executive) are housed in the same building and barely distinguishable.

The Communist party has not, of course, been abolished, merely driven out of most workplaces, stripped of its property, abandoned by leading members from President Gorbachev downwards and publicly excoriated for its participation in the putsch. Some members of the Central Committee — whose dissolution has been recommended by Mr Gorbachev — has already proposed going one step further and breaking up the entire party, whereupon work would start on forming a "party of left-wing forces" that would compete with other political groups.

Overriding everything has been the central role of the party. Ever since 1917 the party has been a single, tight organisation which controlled the government. As long as this was the case, the republics had no room for manoeuvre. Collapse of the party has removed the final chain binding the republics to Moscow.

But there were 24 spheres where the republics had theoretical competence. These included issues such as changing boundaries between republics, forming new autonomous regions, and foreign trade. Much of the power the republican governments have taken over the past year has long existed on paper. Since the 1970s, the republics have been consulted on issues such as drawing up the state plan. But with decisions taken in Moscow, and the centre controlling the army and KGB, republics have been powerless to challenge decisions concerning them.

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All the casualties are the result of the stupid policy of Gorbachev, he should resign.

On Raisa She played the star for long enough, it was time she had to get a taste of what we have to put up with.

I saw how she wore five different dresses in five hours — that was the only thing she had to worry about. It is disgusting, disgusting. She does not look a nice person.

On the former apparatchiks We need real reform — and who is going to carry out those reforms, the party apparatchiks as before?



Remembering the past: candles lit at Moscow Russian Orthodox Church for martyrs



Hope for the future: young demonstrators link hands and sing in Red Square

MARTYRS' FUNERAL

Ritual farewell blends politics and melancholy

From BRUCE CLARK IN MOSCOW

THE pile of dahlias, chrysanthemums and gladioli commemorating the three martyrs of the Moscow putsch grew higher and higher yesterday as the new Russia began creating its own symbols and legends to replace the discarded paraphernalia of communism.

The victims' shrine — huge black-and-white photographs, circular wreaths made of fir branches, and tiny votive candles planted in the mud — provided a compelling focus of attention for Muscovite matrons paying their Sunday afternoon visits to the shady, winding lanes of the Vagan-kovskoye cemetery.

"That's Dima, that one must be Volodya," they murmured to one another with almost mawkish sentimentality, using the diminutive names for Dmitri Komar, aged 23, and Vladimir Usov, aged 37, both crushed by a light tank near the Russian parliament on Tuesday night.

Komar, Usov and fellow victim Ilya Krichevsky — a Jewish architect of 27 — were buried on Saturday in a massive funeral-cum-political meeting that lasted seven hours, attracted half a million people and filled the air waves of every television channel.

It was a carefully, and on the whole tastefully, orchestrated ritual, at once an act of solidarity with three ordinary, bereaved families and the public birth pangs of an entirely new state. It is a state with an odd collection of godfathers and godmothers, to

judge by the speakers who launched the cortege on its way with speeches in front of the Kremlin: Mikhail Gorbachev, the fiery human rights campaigner Yelena Bonner, the new US ambassador Robert Strauss, the envoys to Moscow of Lithuania and Moldova.

Mr Gorbachev was heard out politely as he called on all Russians to "bow their heads before the young men who gave the lives, blocking the way to those who wanted to smash democracy". But placards carried by the crowd proclaimed the message that, although the Soviet president was one of the victims of last week's putsch, he was not seen as one of its heroes.

"Who was the first one to send troops against the people of Moscow?" one demanded, recalling last March 28 when the Kremlin leader appeared to support the "smashers of democracy" as hardline security chiefs deployed 50,000 troops to confront a pro-reform street demonstration.

And there was something faintly pathetic about Mr Gorbachev's announcement that the three victims would be given the title of Heroes of the Soviet Union. For the existence of that political configuration was crumbling by the hour as a direct result of the events that claimed the young men's lives.

Half Moscow seemed to follow the bodies, carried in Soviet fashion on the back of battered commercial trucks, up the avenue that people are gradually learning to call Novy Arbat instead of its old communist name of Kalinin Prospekt. Many of the marchers exclaimed in delight as they noticed that the statue of Mikhail Kalinin had become the latest bolshevik monument to be removed from central Moscow.

Behind the coffins, guarded by the Afghan war veterans who played a key role in last week's mobilisation of volunteers to guard the republican parliament, mourners carried a Russian tricolour 100 yards long, gratefully donated by one of the private businesses which would have faced instant extinction if the plotters had succeeded.

As a sea of people poured into the space behind the Russian parliament that is now called Free Russia Square, Boris Yeltsin boomed out a funeral oration combining compassion for the bereaved families with some subtle but unmistakable political messages. "Forgive me, your president, for the fact that I could not save and protect them," he told the martyrs' families — with the firm implication that, barring this one tragic failure, he did now hold effective sway over Russia and was prepared to take responsibility for its fate.

Apart from the fact that Mr Yeltsin controls it, the ceremony also served to press home another, very important point about the Russian republic which has just lurched into full-blooded existence. Although it takes proper pride in Russian history and culture, it is intended to be a multiracial, multi-religious polity whose leaders are determined to ward off the danger of lapsing into chauvinism or bigotry. Thus Saturday's ritual began and ended with Hebrew prayers for Krichevsky and strains of the Russian Orthodox liturgy.

RUSSIAN TAKEOVER

Move is prelude to full autonomy

By MICHAEL BINYON

THE appointment of Ivan Silayev, prime minister of the Russian Federation, as Soviet prime minister, highlights the extraordinary takeover of the Soviet government by Boris Yeltsin's Russia.

The takeover reverses 70 years of communist history, when the Soviet Union's 15 constituent republics were ruthlessly subordinated to the central government and party apparatus of the union. Although on paper it looks like a return to the pre-revolutionary days when tsarist Russia controlled the affairs of the empire, the move is a prelude to the full autonomy and probable independence of most republics.

Moscow has ruled the Soviet Union with iron centralism since the civil war. In further, the republics enjoyed virtual autonomy. Even in Stalin's day, they had their own governments, party organisations and a theoretical right to secede from the union. But it was always a sham.

Republican governments were little more than executive agencies, carrying out in the name of local autonomy the decisions made by the central bureaucracy. They had no right of independent initiative, controlled no levers of economic power, were unable to protest or countermand orders from Moscow and were often forced to act against the interests of the people they claimed to represent.

Stalin's 1936 constitution, which was in force until the Brezhnev era, when revisions were made to strengthen the role of the party, was ambiguous about the exercise of sovereignty in the republics. The laws of the union were of equal validity in every republic and prevailed in the event of a discrepancy. The Supreme Soviet had powers to set aside republican decrees.

What they were saying on the streets of Moscow

On Gorbachev He has paid very dearly for his mistakes. He must feel very terrible.

Gorbachev is to blame, 100 per cent. He needs to turn around 180 degrees. Not 90 degrees, but 180.

When will he finally get rid of all that "the party"? He doesn't understand that the state is the people. You have to look after people, leaves of bread are not enough.

If he had any conscience he would resign. But he has to stay until the next shift takes over. And the West supports him, that's the only reason he can stay. But the West supported us as well.

All the casualties are the result of the stupid policy of Gorbachev, he should resign.

On Raisa She played the star for long enough, it was time she had to get a taste of what we have to put up with.

I saw how she wore five different dresses in five hours — that was the only thing she had to worry about. It is disgusting, disgusting. She does not look a nice person.

On the former apparatchiks We need real reform — and who is going to carry out those reforms, the party apparatchiks as before?

Mary Dejevsky was outside the Russian federation's 'White House' yesterday, listening to Muscovite wit and wisdom

On Nikolai Ryzhkov He had a pension of 1,200 roubles and was given a dacha worth a million for free — and he wanted to be president. Had he no shame?

On Yanayev He was unfaithful to his wife, he should have been questioned about that when he was standing for the vice-presidency. Someone once asked whether he was married and he is supposed to

have said, "unfortunately, married". I feel sorry for his daughter who is studying at an institute and his son. People's eyes have finally been opened and they see who is who.

On Leonid Kravchenko, head of central radio and TV He should be put on trial. He told lies to the whole country. He's our Goebbels. He had a charming smile, but he

threw in his lot with the Chekists.

On Lomakin, the presenter who interviewed Yeltsin He's a brute, vicious. Yeltsin probably hasn't forgotten that. But Yeltsin has a soft heart — too soft. He'll forgive. No, he won't, not that, he won't forgive him for the sake of the people.

On Rutskoi, Russian vice president a real hero for you, and he's handsome, too. I remember when he stood for election, he had great difficulty winning, and he was quite a party man. But then he saw

the complete indifference of the state to our problems and came over to our side.

On Anatoli Sobchak, mayor of Leningrad The people of Leningrad immediately took Russia's side. He should be president. He is direct, a good person. The only one apart from Yeltsin who could restrain the people

On Eduard Shevardnadze He's intelligent and modest. He was the first to say that dictatorship would not win. That was when Gorbachev was saying that he was in control of the situation.

Power of Russia stirs old anxieties in 'prison of peoples'

They may be dancing in the streets of Moscow but in the far-flung outposts of the unravelling Soviet empire this week there is merely a dull thud of anxiety. The Russian tricolour, waved so triumphantly from balconies, has a different, more menacing impact in the Central Asian republics, in the Transcaucasus and the Ukraine; tsarist oppression continued there in a new guise by the bolsheviks.

Lenin called the tsarist empire a "prison of the peoples". He did not, however, see these peoples free and marxist historians made an industry out of explaining how Russian hegemony within the Soviet Union was fundamentally different from Russian dominance

Roger Boyes investigates the growing fear among the old Soviet empire's many ethnic nationalities that rising Russian nationalism may not be that much more benevolent than the tsarist variety of bad memory

centre. This reduced the friction with Moscow but solved nothing. The balance was upset by Mikhail Gorbachev — glassnost opened the way for public ethnic feeling; the accelerating collapse of communist ideology and the planned economy hit at the structure of the union. Moreover, Mr Gorbachev was insensitive on the nationality issue. In December 1986 he broke a fundamental rule by promoting a Russian national to be party chief in

Alma Ata, Kazakhstan. His shake-up of the party removed non-Russians from the politburo. But for all Mr Gorbachev's clumsiness, the Soviet republics are not looking with any great sense of relief to Boris Yeltsin. Only the outright secessionist Baltic republics have gained unambiguously from his new ascendancy. It is plain that the strong republic — Russia and the Ukraine — will be able to dictate the terms of the future union. Ukraine is the

bread basket, with coal and other valuable resources. Russia alone among the republics has the capacity to set up an independent army, or national guard, on an internationally credible scale. The Russian Federation, in its present form, at least, controls vast oil and gas fields. The union in other words will be dismantled on Russian terms, while, the centre, as in Yugoslavia, will become increasingly ineffectual. But it is precisely Russian dominance that has

historically framed the problems of the distant republics. The Georgians, for example, trace some of their grievances to the time of the first push southwards of the Russian empire under Peter the Great at the end of the 17th century. That was the beginning of a differentiated policy towards Armenians — whose national sentiment was encouraged — and Georgians. Then came an explicit programme of Russification. The tsarist Russians ruled by division — separating the Islamic mountain tribes of the Caucasus from the Christians — and Soviet Russians deployed similar methods, redistributing territory. How will Mr Yeltsin's Russia prevent an explosion in the Caucasus, as ancient wrongs are violently

corrected? A confederation based on bilateral or individual treaties does not provide a path out of this looming ethnic crisis. Russia must urgently devise a non-imperial, democratically grounded, policy that can be applied to the rest of the union. It is clear that the Baltic states will now make mastery of the local language — a fundamental requirement for civil service jobs — Russian-speakers will be discriminated against, and so will the Russian minority. Since Mr Yeltsin has renounced the use of force, how will he protect the Russian minority?

Non-Russian minorities in the Russian Federation are also uneasy. The new Russian government may be distinctly clericalist. Certainly Orthodox priests were much in evidence during the three-day struggle against the Kremlin plotters. That, coupled with Pamyat-style ravings on the fringes of the Yeltsin revival, is unsettling Soviet Jews and other minorities. When the flush of victory fades and Russia embarks on a radical market programme, there will be a search for scapegoats to explain away the shortages. The failure of the Moscow coup has removed one specific risk — that of an army-backed restoration of a communist state — but has opened up many new dangers. The rash rise, not only of Russian but of myriad nationalisms, within the shell of the Soviet Union means that civil war will be a real possibility.

THE BALTICS

Black Berets enter the squalid history of colonial retreat

FROM ANATOLI LIEVEN IN RIGA

IN FULL battle dress and under the Red Banner, the Black Berets special force in Lithuania drove out of their base in Vilnius and joined the Black and Tans and the First Foreign Legion Parachutes in the more squalid chapters of the history of colonial retreat. The comparison with the Foreign Legion is particularly instructive. Disbanded in disgrace because of their involvement in the coup of the French Army of Algeria against de Gaulle, they marched out of their base singing "Non, je ne regrette rien." Some of them then turned to terrorism against both the victorious Algerian nationalists and the French government. However, today they are still regarded as heroes by the former French colonialists and the followers of Jean-Marie Le Pen.

The disbandment of the Black Berets may, however, be only part of the overtone to an infinitely vaster military disintegration. On Saturday the Lithuanian leader, Vytautas Landsbergis, demanded the immediate return to the republic of all the Lithuanian conscripts in the Soviet armed forces. If, as is likely, other republics follow his lead, then in a matter of months what used to be the most powerful fighting force the world had ever seen will be reduced to a skeleton.

This is not a prospect from which the democrats and the republics should necessarily take comfort. The coup last week failed very largely because, like the French conscripts would not obey orders to fire on fellow citizens and fellow soldiers. A rump of



Landsbergis: minority have nothing to fear

embittered professional volunteers could turn out a very much greater threat to democracy.

The Latvian parliament yesterday was guarded by heavily armed Latvian special police after what the Soviet general commanding in the Baltic said was a threat from the Black Berets to assassinate Latvian leaders. This may well have been simply an attempt to curry favour and save his job; on the other hand, the explosion of a bomb at a Russian school in Riga early on Saturday morning may have been yet another attempt by Soviet hardliners to create ethnic conflict in the Baltic.

The Soviet legacy extends much further than the former security services. The Baltic region is probably the last place where the Communist party retains any public support, thanks to its skilful manipulation of fears of Baltic nationalism.

The Soviet loyalist movements in the Baltic are led by Communists, but also very largely by former officers, because Latvia in particular was a favourite retirement spot. The equivalent of a golf course manservant for a

Soviet colonel was a job in a housing department in Latvia, which he promptly used to give apartments to more colonels. Such jobs can now be expected to go.

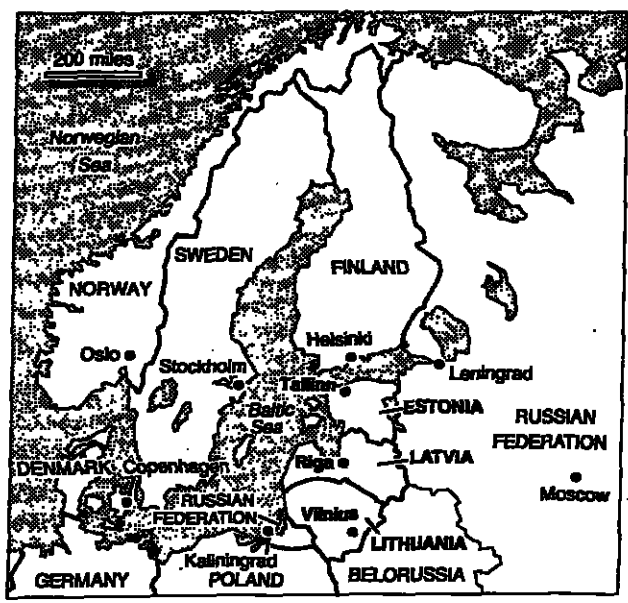
The threat of unemployment to Russians in the Baltic region is much wider. The Communists here have even been able to use elements of their old ideology, because of the fear among Russian workers of the Moscow-controlled factories that in independent republics economic change is going to throw them out of their jobs.

In Estonia and Latvia, the "all-union factories" have been turned by their management and the communist official trade unions into fortresses of Soviet loyalism. Many of the workers with whom I have spoken are in fact as sick as their old bosses as anyone else, as the votes in the referendums on Baltic independence in March showed. Several hundred workers protested on Saturday in Tallinn at Estonian government orders sacking three of the directors of such factories for their close involvement in the coup.

In Lithuania, the government has moved to suspend the Communist-dominated elected local councils in the Russian majority town of Szeleckus and the Polish district of Salcininkai. There is no doubt that these supported the coup, and it may be that in consequence their local support will now vanish. On Saturday, Dr Landsbergis, speaking in Russian, made a long statement on television assuring the Russian minority in the republic that they have nothing to fear from Baltic independence. The Latvian leader, Anatolijs Gorbunovs, has done the same. In Estonia, however, the Estonian government has been accused by an Estonian journalist of "burying its head in the sand about ethnic conflict and the risk of a very disgruntled minority living in Estonia in future".

When Mr Gorbunovs met Boris Yeltsin in Moscow this weekend, the Russian president raised this issue, and Mr Gorbunovs told him both that democracy in Latvia will guarantee local Russian rights, and that "because Russia was the first to recognise Latvia, we hold Russia in great respect, and this will have a positive effect on national relations here".

Bernard Levia, page 14
Mary Dejevsky, page 14
Leading article, page 15
Letters, page 15



Hands up for liberty: crowds in the streets of Kiev celebrating the Supreme Soviet's declaration of independence with the Ukrainian three-fingered salute

EC DEBATE

Doubts divide governments on creation of new states

FROM GEORGE BROCK IN BRUSSELS

EUROPEAN governments are more likely to divide over the recognition of breakaway republics that over the more traditional debate on aid to the Soviet economy as events in Moscow unfold.

The news that the now-powerful Russian government had endorsed the independence declarations by the three Baltic republics and early moves towards diplomatic links by Germany and Denmark means that European Community recognition of three new, small European states is certain. The remaining question is whether the community's governments can wait long enough to do so in unison or rush ahead individually. On Friday the Danish government announced that diplomatic relations would be established "as soon as possible". By yesterday Uffe Ellemann-Jensen, the foreign minister, said that he was ready to do so immediately and that he would be going there in ten days' time. EC foreign ministers will

meet this week to discuss the rapidly changing Soviet picture. In spite of the consensus over the Baltic countries, governments remain undecided over their reaction to the potential creation of several sovereign governments. Diplomats and EC officials caution that the enthusiasm for dismantling the Soviet Union obscures two risks.

Since the failure of the coup, the Russian government headed by Boris Yeltsin has given no indication of its reaction to declarations of independence by republics other than the Baltic ones. The key area is the Ukraine, the second largest republic after Russia and until now a prime sector in the Soviet economy. The republic declared independence subject to a referendum at the end of last week. Second, the voices of diplomatic caution say, no separation of the Soviet Union's constituent parts can happen without increasing the risk of ethnic strife because rival groups are mingled inside republics. "The break-up

of the Soviet empire, with all its interwoven nationalities, could make what is happening in Yugoslavia look like a vicarious tea party," an adviser to Jacques Delors, the European Commission president, said yesterday.

France is unlikely to join this chorus of enthusiasm for new states which may both distract Germany or bog down European unification by lengthening the queue of applicants for EC membership. The sound of the Yugoslav and Soviet federations cracking up is unwelcome to supporters of a federal union in Western Europe.

Economic assistance will be less controversial. Pressure for grants of financial aid either to Moscow or to individual republics remains weak and is not likely to sway Western governments. But the events of last week will accelerate the development of schemes which do not involve donations, such as association with the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.

THE UKRAINE

Desperate party decides to play nationalist card

By ROBERT SEELY

WHEN the tanks rolled into Moscow a week ago today, it looked as though Ukrainian dreams of independence would be dashed, as they were in 1917, by another Russian revolution.

Seven days on the republic has proclaimed its freedom, and for the first time in more than 300 years the chances of it becoming genuinely independent seem to be strong. There is shock, as well as elation, in the Ukrainian capital, Kiev.

Overnight a new nation, second in area in Europe only to Russia, with a population similar to Britain's and a vast nuclear arsenal on its territory, is emerging. Yet there is a less savoury side to the independence vote in the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet.

The parliament is out of touch with the people. The elections in the spring of 1990 were rigged. In many of the republic's two dozen oblasts (districts), democratic candidates were barred from standing because the authorities refused to register them. Reports of intimidation, arrests and fraud were reported.

This weekend's historic vote for independence, although led by nationalists whose sincerity — and naivety — is without question, was supported by a large rump of Soviet apparatchiks who realised that the only chance to preserve their corrupt fiefdoms was to vote to split from discredited reactionaries in Moscow and fight for their privileges and power on a republican level.

To underline the fact, the Ukrainian Communist party yesterday decided to sever ties with the Soviet party and intends to hold a meeting of its central committee to carry out the decision. Their continuation in power could undermine Ukrainian attempts at economic integration with Europe and prolong an authoritarian government.

The battle to bury the corpse of communism is just beginning in the Ukraine and in other parts of the Soviet Union. Those who write off the power of the party are premature in their judgement. Throughout their troubled history, Ukrainians have been told by both tsarist and Soviet overlords to reject their Ukrainian identity and cloak themselves in either a Greater Russia or in the Soviet Union's communist ideology. The disproportionately high numbers of Ukrainians in the labour camps is proof that a small but vitally important section of the population refused to submit. The Ukraine now has the

potential to become the power house of Eastern Europe. Closer to the European mentality than Russia, its resources are also nearer to their markets. Although outdated, its industrial base remains formidable, especially in cast iron, steel and rolled steel production. The Donbass region, developed by Welsh knowhow and English capital, still accounts for a quarter of the Soviet Union's coal production.

It is one of the richest areas in the world for manganese-bearing ores and iron ores. The republic also has a big chemical industry and agriculturally is known as the "bread basket" of the Soviet Union. A recent Bundesbank survey described the Ukraine as the republic most ready for economic independence.

However, immediate actions must include a desperate attempt to control inflation to kickstart the agricultural industry out of the doldrums and to keep a lid on popular discontent now that the structures of fear are falling. Building relations with its neighbours, Russia especially, will have to begin afresh.

Questions high on the agenda will include the pricing of Ukrainian grain. Will Kiev sell food abroad for hard



Kravchuk: manoeuvring to keep grip on power

currency or will it help Boris Yeltsin feed his people this winter? What happens to the nuclear missile sites on Ukrainian soil? Will an authoritarian government in Kiev want to become a mini-superpower, or will a democratic president demand their removal? Stability over the coming months will hinge on the Kiev government's ability to deliver goods to the shops.

Leonid Kravchuk, the present Ukrainian leader, spearheaded the attacks on *Rukh*, Ukraine's independence movement, in 1989. His remarks then were noticeable only for their clumsy clinging to the past and his refusal to speak Ukrainian. But he then began to build support slowly by using Ukrainian symbols and recalling the achievements of Ukrainian Cossacks.

Mr Kravchuk's decision to hold back for a day and a half before supporting Mr Yeltsin will, unless he renounces Communist party membership, probably cost him the presidential election, due to be held to coincide with the December referendum to support last Saturday's independence vote.

The October revolution of 1917 was preceded by a revolution in February that year turning into a civil war which lasted until 1921 and claimed millions of lives. After the euphoria of this week has died down in Kiev, Moscow, and other republican capitals, the new forces of power will have to work hard to protect their liberty. There is much that could happen this winter to reverse the new order, especially if the Soviet Union's vast army of industrial workers go hungry. A return to chaos cannot be ruled out.

OTHER REPUBLICS

Independence fervour rises amid fears of more ethnic conflicts

By MICHAEL HORNSBY

THE break-up of the Soviet Union gathered pace yesterday as the small south-western republic of Moldavia, taking its cue from the Ukraine and the Baltic republics, announced plans to declare independence at a special session of parliament tomorrow. Moldavian radio said that the "proclamation of Moldavia's independence" would be the only item on the agenda.

In the wake of last week's failed coup, nationalist fervour is rising around the periphery of the crumbling Soviet empire, increasing the danger of ethnic conflict as republican governments, emboldened by the collapse of central authority, are tempted

to take the law into their own hands in dealing with troublesome minorities. Even before the events of last week, Moldavia, Georgia and Armenia had joined the Baltic republics in refusing to sign the Union Treaty, President Gorbachev's blueprint for a looser federal structure, on the ground that it would leave too much power with the Kremlin. All say they want independence.

The nationalist-dominated parliament declared the republic independent last April. Zviad Gamsakhurdia, the nationalist president, who was elected by an overwhelming popular majority at the end of May, spoke before the coup of a process of negotiated separa-

tion from the Soviet Union, with the emergence over four years of a Georgian currency, passport and national guard.

This timescale seems certain to be speeded up. Long before the coup, the statue of Lenin had been removed from the central square in Tbilisi, the capital, the Georgian national flag had replaced the hammer and sickle and English had begun to usurp Russian as the second language.

There is concern among the South Ossetians, a Muslim minority whose autonomous status was annulled by the Georgian government last December. The Ossetians, who have no wish to be part of an independent Georgia and look to Moscow for protection, had angered Tbilisi by campaigning for unification

with North Ossetia in the Russian Federation.

The republic was first taken from Romania by tsarist Russia in 1812, returned to Romania in 1918 and re-annexed by the Soviet Union in 1940. Some two-thirds of its population are ethnic Romanians. Mircea Snegur, the nationalist president, who has banned the Communist party, sees independence as a step towards reunification with Romania, a goal shared by Bucharest.

Last week, the authorities arrested leaders of the Turkish minority in the Gagauz region for alleged collaboration in the coup and said arrests of other "adherents of dictatorship", including leaders of a small Russian-speaking communi-

ty, were imminent. The minorities are fearful of Romanian nationalism.

The republic, which elected Levon Ter-Petrosian, a prominent nationalist, as president in May last year, had embarked on a path of legal separation from the Soviet Union before the coup. Yesterday Mr Ter-Petrosian ordered the Communist party to leave its headquarters. Although strongly in favour of independence in principle, many Armenians were in no hurry, fearing that as an independent state they might be more exposed to the designs of their Muslim neighbours.

Earlier this year, Mr Ter-Petrosian accused Soviet

forces of aiding Azerbaijani troops in attacks on Armenian communities in Azerbaijan and claimed that President Gorbachev was siding with Armenia over the Armenian enclave of Nagorno-Karabakh because of Armenia's refusal to sign the Union Treaty.

Ayaz Mutalibov, the communist Azerbaijani president, also wanted more freedom, but within the framework of the Union Treaty, and he moved against the growing nationalist movement. As a significant oil producer, his republic also carried economic weight. He has disgraced himself by being the only republican leader openly to support the coup and Armenia is

Stroke of the pen ends 88 years of repression

In 88 years the Communist party of the Soviet Union moved from being a small group of conspirators to a bloated bureaucracy before succumbing to popular hatred. Michael Binyon charts the rise and fall of the party

Soviet communism died exactly 88 years after its birth. In 1903, the Bolsheviks split with the Mensheviks at the second congress of the Russian Social Democratic party, which ended on August 23, 1903. Last Friday, also August 23, Boris Yeltsin, with the stroke of a pen, suspended the party in Russia. And the next day Mikhail Gorbachev, the general secretary, resigned and the central committee was dissolved. For seven decades the party was the largest, most disciplined and most powerful political organisation the world has ever seen. It controlled the government of the largest nation on earth. It pervaded every aspect of life in the Soviet Union. It dominated the schools, the workplace, and the leisure of every citizen. The party attempted to control not only people's views but their religion, emotions and even love lives.

Protected by the loyal KGB — "the sword and shield of the party" — and functioning as a self-perpetuating oligarchy, the party became the ultimate hypocrisy of Soviet life. Its leaders proclaimed equality and proletarian solidarity while they led pampered and privileged lives. The party claimed to be the representative of the workers, while denying the masses a voice. It insisted that the one-party state was the true democracy, while torturing and imprisoning all opponents. It swept away the tsarist system with promises of land, bread and peace, but under Stalin brought famine, mass purges and the confiscation of all land in the name of the state.

Envisioned as a way of bringing justice to the masses, the party became the transmission belt for unappealing orders from dictators at the top. It killed its founders, silenced its critics, stifled creativity, discouraged individual initiative and rewarded only the dullards, the placemen and the mediocre. It insisted not only that those it persecuted acquiesce but that they actively supported their own persecution.

Soviet communism was an amalgam of Marxist revolutionary thought, the anti-tsarist agitation of the nineteenth century, the teachings and practical experience of Lenin and the hectic turbulence of the November putsch in 1917 and three subsequent years of bloody civil war and repression. Under Stalin, the ideological mix quickly set in a mould, while communism's practical expression became a terrifying combination of collectivisation at the point of a gun, breakneck industrialisation at huge human cost and militant expansionism overseas.

The party was born of the revolutionary turmoil that seethed in Russia at the end of the last century. Much of this was channelled into the Russian Social Democratic Labour party, which held its first congress in Minsk in 1898. Its nine delegates were soon arrested. Five years later it held its second congress in Brussels. But after the Belgian police drove them away, the congress moved to London. Lenin had long insisted that the party must be a tight-knit organisation of revolutionaries, and forced a break with the minority of delegates, who wanted to cooperate with

other left-wing forces. In 1900 the first issue appeared of *Iskra*, published in Leipzig and edited by Lenin, with copies being smuggled back to Russia. This forerunner of *Pravda* lay down the primacy for the party of a propaganda organ and a unified message.

The first Russian revolution of 1905 found the Bolsheviks unprepared, and during the repression that followed the Bolsheviks were driven underground. Membership fell and many leading revolutionaries were arrested. Lenin spent much of his time abroad, especially in London and Switzerland, writing and preparing for another occasion. But the Bolsheviks also played little part in the first revolution in 1917 when the tsar abdicated and a provisional government was formed by Kerensky which cooperated with the Mensheviks. Lenin returned to Russia in a sealed train through Germany and doggedly opposed it. By October, with the war going badly and the government tottering, the Bolsheviks, supported by a group of the military, seized power in a coup d'état. The brief skirmishes were then immortalised in Soviet mythology as "The Great October Socialist revolution."

The party was strengthened by the civil war, its opponents ruthlessly eliminated by the Red army and the terror of the Cheka, the forerunner of the KGB. In 1919 at the third congress the Communist International or Comintern was founded, with the aim of spreading revolution and supporting the Bolsheviks in Russia. A year later at the next congress, with hopes of world

revolution running high, the party outlined its role as "the main instrument for the liberation of the working class." It was to be highly centralised and disciplined according to the formula of "democratic centralism" on which the Bolshevik party had been founded. Twenty-one conditions were laid down by the congress as prerequisites for parties affiliating with Comintern. These were designed to ensure a complete break with older social democratic parties, from which the communist parties were breaking off.

But by 1921 starvation and ruin faced the country, and Lenin relaxed the wartime grip on the economy and allowed limited private enterprise again under the New Economic Policy. He wanted time to develop stable trading relations with capitalist countries. With the failure of a communist uprising in Germany, it was clear to Moscow that world revolution was not about to break out.

In 1924 Lenin died after long illness. Several years of infighting followed, with the old Bolsheviks jostling for position. This was the most fluid period of the party, the last flowering of the old ideals and modernist thinking in Russia. By gradually Joseph Stalin, the party secretary, was consolidating his position at the expense of Trotsky's supporters, ensuring the primacy of the survival of communism in Russia over world revolution with the doctrine of "socialism in one country." Trotsky, his faction in disgrace, was exiled.

By 1929 Stalin was ready to abandon the NEP in favour of



Giants of the past: Lenin with Stalin at Gorki, near Moscow, in 1922.

rapid industrialisation and the collectivisation of agriculture. This policy produced a famine which cost the lives of millions of peasants. And Stalin moved against Nikolai Bukharin, one of his former allies, who favoured going slow with industrialisation and cultivating better support among the peasants who were being bled white by Stalin. The bitter struggle with other old Bolsheviks, including Zinoviev, was reflected in the Comintern, but gradually Stalin's line prevailed, inside and outside the Soviet Union.

In 1934 Stalin cemented his personal rule at the 17th party congress, and was ready to launch the first of his great purges. The pretext was the murder of Sergei Kirov, the party boss of Leningrad. Millions were shot or sent to labour camps. The next year Stalin revived the united front at the seventh and last congress of Comintern. This ordered all communists overseas to support the policies of the Soviet Union as their primary duty.

More purges followed, especially in 1937 and 1938, when all old Bolsheviks were killed, and the entire apparatus of the party purged. The leadership of the Red army was also decimated — a fatal mistake that laid the Soviet Union open to attack by Hitler.

Comintern policy changed again in 1939 with the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact. Anti-fascism was cynically jettisoned, even while Hitler was killing and torturing communists. But the Nazi invasion changed things again, when communists appealed for inter-

national solidarity to save the Soviet Union.

After Stalin's death in 1952, a brief period of exhaustion followed, with Malenkov taking over. Bulganin and Khrushchev ruled in uneasy duumvirate. The party was shaken however in 1956 by Khrushchev's "secret" speech — deliberately leaked to the West — which denounced the crimes of Stalinism, and shook the "believers" at home and abroad who had suppressed their consciences for so long. It led directly to the turbulence in Eastern Europe — first in Poland and then in Hungary, where the Soviet Union then intervened in a bloody crack-down in 1956. This action cost the party millions of voters' support in Western Europe.

Stalin was not removed from the mausoleum, where he was laid out beside Lenin, until 1961. By then party and country had begun to recover from the ravages of Stalin and the war. Millions of political prisoners had been released from the gulag. A thaw in international relations led to the proclamation of the doctrine of peaceful coexistence. The Soviet party still maintained the inevitability of class warfare and the eventual triumph of communism overseas. But it recognized that nuclear warfare was uniquely dangerous and that the Soviet Union could not afford armed conflict with the West.

Khrushchev had already eliminated the hard-line Stalinists. In a political coup in 1957, he denounced three of Stalin's main supporters in the Politburo — Molotov, Kaganovich and Malenkov —

and forced them out of office. But Khrushchev failed to make any changes in the basic structure of the party, its philosophy, membership and the means by which it exercised control in the country. The party remained a tight, elite group, not open to widespread membership and keeping control of all the machinery of government.

The party by now was completely identified with the Soviet government, and its history is intermingled with that of the Soviet Union. The party never was able to recover in Eastern Europe from the purges Stalin ordered there as soon as communist governments were set up; but Moscow did acknowledge a certain latitude in countries such as Poland and Hungary, which gradually adopted more liberal forms of communism. But a serious split was now developing with China, the most populous communist country in the world. Chairman Mao had depended on Stalin for the success of his revolutions, and resented this dependence. The pretext was ideology — Khrushchev's "revisionism" and his denouncing of Stalin's achievements. But the real cause was deep-seated historical animosity and rivalry. Maoist factions sprang up around the world which split the communist movement. China went its own way.

In 1964 Khrushchev was deposed. His policies were becoming more threatening to the old guard, especially the bureaucrats in the provinces, whose powers he was threatening to undermine with pro-

posals for a radical shake-up. The plotters were senior members of the Politburo, conservatives who promised a return to the "harm-brained" adventurism of the Khrushchev years. The new group was led by a troika of Leonid Brezhnev, the party secretary, Nikolai Podgorniy, the president, and Alexei Kosygin, the prime minister.

The new group in the Kremlin immediately signalled a retreat from Khrushchev's liberalism. They clamped down on the growing contacts with the West. In particular they sent a frisson through the intelligentsia by the trial of two writers, Sinyavsky and Daniel, accused of besmirching the Soviet Union by publishing their works abroad. The press was muzzled and the new mood quickly made itself felt throughout the party apparatus.

By 1968 reform movements, still taking their cue from Khrushchev, were still alive in Eastern Europe. In Czechoslovakia Antonin Novotny, the hardline party leader, was ousted. Alexander Dubcek succeeded him and introduced "socialism with a human face" in what was known as the Prague spring. Unlike the Hungarian revolution, it did not challenge the party's supremacy or threaten to take Czechoslovakia out of the Warsaw Pact. But it threatened the party's monopoly of power and wisdom.

But the party could not deliver the goods. Early experiments with economic reform, mainly encouraged by Kosygin, foundered as they

always came up against the contradiction of party interference and the need for a free market. The old formulas were used with decreasing success: the rate of growth slowed, the labour shortage rose and stop-gap measures such as the import of Western consumer goods, especially on the "holy days" of what had now become a secular religion, failed to keep pace with rising expectations.

Nevertheless, a generation of younger, better educated people was now growing up. Some entered the party out of idealism, some in order to further their careers. They were technocrats, and though they paid lip-service to the tenets of Marxism-Leninism, now fossilised as a dogma, they saw their main task as trying to get the sluggish country moving. This generation saw its chance when Brezhnev finally died in 1982. But his replacement, Yuri Andropov, had no time. He soon fell ill, and though he managed to launch a ruthless anti-corruption campaign, he was unable to see it through.

The old guard feared for itself. The Mafia instinct of self-preservation took over. The party chose Konstantin Chernenko, a Brezhnev functionary, as a stop-gap. He tried to turn the clock back. But he too was ill, and within a year was dead. Finally Mikhail Gorbachev was chosen.

The first reform came in 1986 when a swathe of bureaucrats were swept out at the 27th party congress. Boris Yeltsin was made a candidate politburo member, only to resign a year later.

In 1988 the pace of change quickened. Glasnost had opened up the secrets of the party's history. Perestroika threatened its leading role in society. At an extraordinary party conference Gorbachev won approval for multi-candidate elections and the creation of a new, full-time parliament. The party's authority as the sole arbiter of power was fatally weakened.

In 1989 there were elections to a congress of people's deputies. Informal groups began to challenge the communist party, defeating several top candidates. Mr Yeltsin won a Moscow constituency with 89 per cent of the vote. By last year the constitutional reform was gathering pace. An executive presidency was created, undermining the importance of the politburo. Article 6 of the Soviet constitution, guaranteeing the communist party's sole right to rule, was abolished. Mr Gorbachev fended off conservative assaults at the 28th party congress. Mr Yeltsin and other reformers left the party, saying it had failed to become democratic. At the same time conservatives looked to a new faction of hardliners in the Russian communist party, led by Ivan Polozkov, a leading critic.

This year saw further decline in party importance. Membership fell from a peak of 19 million to 15 million. Mr Gorbachev stayed on as general secretary, despite calls from his liberal allies to quit. Mr Yeltsin won election as Russian president, thus bringing a huge swathe of Soviet territory under non-communist control. Finally, the party, exasperated and frustrated, turned in large number to the conservatives who plotted the coup. It was their last, and probably fatal, mistake.

Bernard Levin, page 14
Mary Dejevsky, page 14
Leading article, page 15
Letters, page 15



Mopping up: Khrushchev, in warmer mood, mops his perspiring brow after a game of badminton in 1963 with Dean Rusk, the US Secretary of State

Shattered parties leave a political vacuum that is tricky to fill



Havel: has communist opponents in Slovakia

FOR THE second time in two years a great revolution has been played out in front of the television cameras. Today, as each of the old Warsaw Pact states grapples for the legacy of communism, the differences between their revolutions and the similarities of their inherited problems, is becoming clearer.

Whereas in East Germany and Czechoslovakia the communist party's rule collapsed because of pressure from below (though it was encouraged by President Gorbachev), in Romania, important groups in the army and Securitate ditched Nicolae Ceausescu, the former Romanian dictator, not to preserve communism but their own powers and privileges. Throughout the region strange alliances defying Western notions of left and right are emerging. In Slovakia, nationalists and communists are united against

supporters of President Václav Havel. The Soviet Union's version of this street theatre of revolution is bound to be even more complicated.

Throughout Central Europe, the loss of the monopoly on power reduced overnight the individual communist parties to an insignificant fraction in a blossoming party political landscape. Only the payroll vote showed any loyalty to the old parties. The old Brezhnevites in Czechoslovakia scored the best result, a pitiful 14 per cent of the vote.

In Bulgaria and Albania, initially the old communist parties managed to manipulate free elections but their success at the polls caused further outrage, strikes and their capitulation. In the disintegrating Soviet Union, it is difficult to imagine that would-be communists have any prospects. They may be

Mark Almond looks at Eastern Europe's differing experiences in dismantling the old communist regimes and their success in installing democratic forces

allowed to operate in some of the republics, but will be despised and considered unacceptable for a long time.

It will be vital for Boris Yeltsin and the democratic camp, as it was for the trailblazers in Eastern Europe, to begin the task of dismantling the informal connections between the old power-holders which held the system together. Without the help of key members of the security forces, Mr Yeltsin would have been defeated but the question of their motivation for siding with the people remains open.

The danger in the new Russia is not that Mr Yeltsin may be hemmed in by real believing communists —

even the Moscow Eight no longer held to Lenin's utopian vision — but that he cannot rid himself of the opportunists who came to his aid and hope thereby to keep their powers. Siren voices may already whisper in Mr Yeltsin's ear that he controls the most powerful military machine in Russia's history and need not let himself be advised or lectured by the West, which after all snubbed him until the last moment.

Post-communism is a reality only when more than the symbols of the party and its formal organisation have disappeared: the networks of control must be abolished, not just placed in "democratic" hands and the

personnel of the old institutions must be vetted and their capacity to act together against elected politicians' wishes broken down. In the states to the west, even in the united Germany, this has proved easier said than done.

Throughout Eastern Europe the formal transfer of power to non-communists has not silenced the grievances and fears built up over decades. So long as the records of surveillance and control carried out by the secret police remain intact, society in anxious and mistrustful.

The stream of revelations about informers at the highest levels of the dissident movement, not to mention in more mundane walks, has unsettled the new democracies. (The whisper in the Soviet Union that the coup was all a put-up job to bolster Mr Gorbachev's standing in the West is symptomatic.) Even the swift abolition of

the KGB will not remove all these fears in the Soviet Union, but it is an essential prerequisite to genuine democratisation. Mr Yeltsin should see that Vadim Bakatin's job is to be the last chairman of the KGB, not its reformer.

In Western Europe and the United States, there is a tendency to overlook the moral legacy of communism — its breeding of decades of mistrust and servility — in favour of an emphasis on the economic quagmire that it leaves behind. Nobody east of the old Iron Curtain needs reminding of the industrial cul-de-sac into which "developed socialism" led them. Without a quick improvement in living standards, political stability in the new Russia and its old appendages may be impossible, but by itself it will not solve the problems of who holds power. The author is a lecturer at Oriel College, Oxford.



Ceausescu: deposed by army and Securitate

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BRITAIN

Minister to visit Baltic republics amid talk of ties

By NICHOLAS WOOD, POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

A BRITISH minister is to visit the Baltic republics for the first time since they were annexed by the Soviet Union 51 years ago amid growing signs that the government is to grant them full diplomatic recognition.

Douglas Hogg, a junior foreign office minister, yesterday cut short his holiday to undertake the mission within the next few days. Douglas Hurd, the foreign secretary, has asked Mr Hogg to visit Lithuania, Estonia and Latvia and report back on the progress of the independence negotiations between their leaders and Moscow. His visit follows that of a senior British diplomat who has been assessing the prospects for restoring diplomatic ties.

Mr Hurd said yesterday that the three republics looked to

be well on the way to full independence. "They will have to work out arrangements with the centre before they are in complete effective control of their countries, but that is happening quickly," he said on BBC Radio 4's *The World This Weekend*. "We never accepted the swallowing up of the republics into the Soviet Union in 1940 and the sooner they find their way to effective independence the better."

The prime minister, who flies to the United States tomorrow for talks with President Bush that will be dominated by the Soviet upheaval, pointed to Mr Hogg's visit when he was pressed about British recognition of the Baltic republics.

Giving his first detailed response to President Gorbachev's resignation as the Communist party general secretary and his call for the disbandment of its all-important Central Committee, John Major said communism was dying.

"Communism was always based on deception. It was an unsavoury creed. Now it is dying before our eyes. I believe it will die un mourned."

He did not share the views of those arguing that Mr Gorbachev would soon find himself eclipsed by Boris Yeltsin, the president of the Russian Federation, as the old order in the Soviet Union collapsed and the country fragmented into independent republics. It would be "unwise" to write off the Soviet president, he said in an interview with the Press Association.

"Mr Gorbachev's effective dismantling of the Communist party was inevitable," Mr Major said. "The party has lost any affection it might ever have had from the people of the Soviet Union and they will be pleased to see the back of it. Mr Gorbachev has acknowledged that and acted upon it."

He was brave but he was right to do so.

"I think it is very unwise to write off Mr Gorbachev. Nobody should forget the immense contribution he has made over the last seven years or so. He is still the constitutional president of the Soviet Union. Mr Gorbachev still has an important role to play."

He added: "I look forward to doing business with Mr Gorbachev, Mr Yeltsin and the other Soviet leaders."

Mr Hurd confirmed that the issue of cash aid to the Soviet Union would be addressed when senior officials from the Group of Seven leading industrialised nations met in London on Thursday. But it had to be considered "in parallel with economic reform in the Soviet Union," he said.

There was a "very strong case" for the Soviet Union being granted full membership of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, he added.

The foreign secretary said the West's response to the turmoil in the Soviet Union should be to watch and to help. He drew a distinction between external and internal changes. While there was no reason for the West to be "paralytic", it was important to know who was in charge of the Soviet Union's nuclear arsenal, its defence policy and the programme of conventional disarmament and troop withdrawals from Eastern Europe, and its foreign policy, Mr Hurd said. He was hopeful that past co-operation on such matters could be maintained.

The repudiation of communism, "one of the worst ways of running a society that human beings have ever invented", meant that the old pattern had been smashed, Mr Hurd said. The new pattern, with the republics much more to the fore, would take time to emerge.



Happier times: Mr Gorbachev and Dr Castro touring "Expo Cuba" in April

CUBA

Castro keeps the red flag flying

From CHARLES BREMER IN NEW YORK

WHILE the high church of communism crumbled over the weekend, the old beliefs still had enough power to fire up chants of "Socialism or Death" at a youth rally in central Havana. Truly isolated and facing economic disaster, Fidel Castro seems more determined than ever to pursue his lonely course as keeper of the Marxist-Leninist flame.

Dr Castro's government withheld direct comment on the "anti-communist hysteria", as one newspaper put it, that is afflicting its erstwhile fraternal protector, but officials quickly sounded the appropriate note of sorrow and defiance that will become doctrine for the Caribbean island.

"It was inevitable, after all those errors, that the forces of reaction would prevail," said a Cuban diplomat in New York, echoing President Castro's view that Mr Gorbachev had "lost" Eastern Europe, and now presumably his own country, through a failure to understand the strength of hostile capitalist ideas.

Cuba's 10.6 million people, the last apart from the Chinese

and North Koreans to receive all news from a party-run media, were told in neutral terms of the coup early in the week. It was not Cuba's job "to judge events in the USSR", a government statement said. But no attention was made of Mikhail Gorbachev, a man who seriously irritated Dr Castro, and it was clear there was rejoicing among the ageing band of revolutionaries who have held power since 1959.

With the return of the Kremlin hardliners, Cuba could count on continuing aid and perhaps a return to the "solidarity" that had helped make it the shining model of socialism to which Latin American revolutionaries and intellectuals once aspired.

Several of the Soviet hardliners, such as Gennady Yanayev, Valentin Pavlov and Vladimir Kryuchkov, were outspokenly friendly towards Cuba and had called for continued close ties with Havana despite President Bush's demands for a break as a sign of true reform.

Silence followed the Gorbachev restoration until Friday, when the press dropped its usual reliance on Tass for official word of Soviet events and used its own correspondents and others for word of the tumult. "Broad State Restructuring Begins in the Soviet Union," was how Gramscis, the official newspaper, headed a relatively full report of the week's events.

Accounts in the press of the "hysterical" tearing down of statues was clearly intended to evoke shock among readers brought up with a Soviet-style reverence for the icons of revolution. American officials expect Moscow now to move swiftly to scale down its considerable aid to Havana.

China fear of trouble for party

Peking - After President Gorbachev's death-blow to the Soviet Communist party, China's communists find themselves orphaned (Catherine Sampson writes).

Peking fears that the news may stir up anti-party feeling in China, and that the break-up of the Soviet Union's republics may fuel separatist unrest here.

Significantly, the top foreign story on yesterday's television news was of the North Korean President Kim Il Sung's comment to a Chinese party official that since China had fought this summer's floods so effectively, it was clear that "socialism is still best".

The news from Moscow was tucked in among foreign items and sports news but was lengthy and detailed, accompanied by pictures the government would once have censored.

German move

Bonn - Hans-Dietrich Genscher, the German foreign minister, has invited the foreign ministers of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia to Bonn to discuss the establishment of diplomatic relations with Germany amid preparations by the government to recognise the Baltic states as independent countries.

Tokyo pleased

Tokyo - Japan has welcomed President Gorbachev's resignation as general secretary of the Communist Party. Taro Nakayama, the foreign minister, said the decision came in response to the start of fully fledged reforms launched at the popular level for democratization and liberalization. (AFP)

FRANCE

Marchais under fire from the reformers

From PHILIP JACOBSON IN PARIS

ON THE bright red masthead of *L'Humanité* newspaper are the proud words "Central Organ of the French Communist Party" and a prominent hammer and sickle. For almost 20 years the party's general secretary, Georges Marchais, has cleaved faithfully to the orthodox lines of class struggle and appeals to overthrow capitalist hegemony, apparently indifferent to the loss of support among French voters.

When proponents of perestroika accused M Marchais of running "Stalin's last constituency", he purged them, rallying the party's diminishing

band of hardliners with long speeches that sounded like echoes of the Brezhnev era. Last year M Marchais orchestrated 70th anniversary celebrations, despite the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe. But today, as communism crumbles throughout the Soviet Union, M Marchais and his supporters are under fiercer fire than ever from the "renovation" factions for its bumbling, equivocal response to the extraordinary drama in Moscow last week. Marcel Rosette, a veteran activist, said the party had to work out how socialism could be reformed.

Channel Four commissions coup 'drama-documentary'

By MELINDA WITTSTOCK, MEDIA CORRESPONDENT

THE "inside story" of last week's bungled coup in the Soviet Union will be dramatised on British television in autumn next year, possibly with Anthony Hopkins playing Mikhail Gorbachev and Albert Finney as Boris Yeltsin.

Channel Four was quick off the mark to capitalise on the unfolding drama in the Soviet Union, signing up Granada Television yesterday to produce "the definitive drama-documentary" about the coup and its aftermath.

Michael Grade, Channel Four's chief executive, joked that the working title of the £1.5 million project is "A Very Soviet Coup", and said he would like to see Anthony Hopkins and Albert Finney in the main roles.

Yesterday's announcement at the Edinburgh Television festival came as BBC executives pondered a follow-up to the documentary *The Second Russian Revolution*. It is likely that the BBC will also now show repeats of the documentary series.

Mr Grade said Channel Four and Granada would not rush the drama-documentary on to the screen too fast, in order to allow Granada's journalists enough time to carry out a comprehensive investigation.



Finney: considered for role of Boris Yeltsin



Hopkins: might portray Mikhail Gorbachev

A team of investigative journalists from Granada will be sent to the Soviet Union to do a thorough investigation. Their intensive research will then be dramatised. The programme will be shown throughout America.

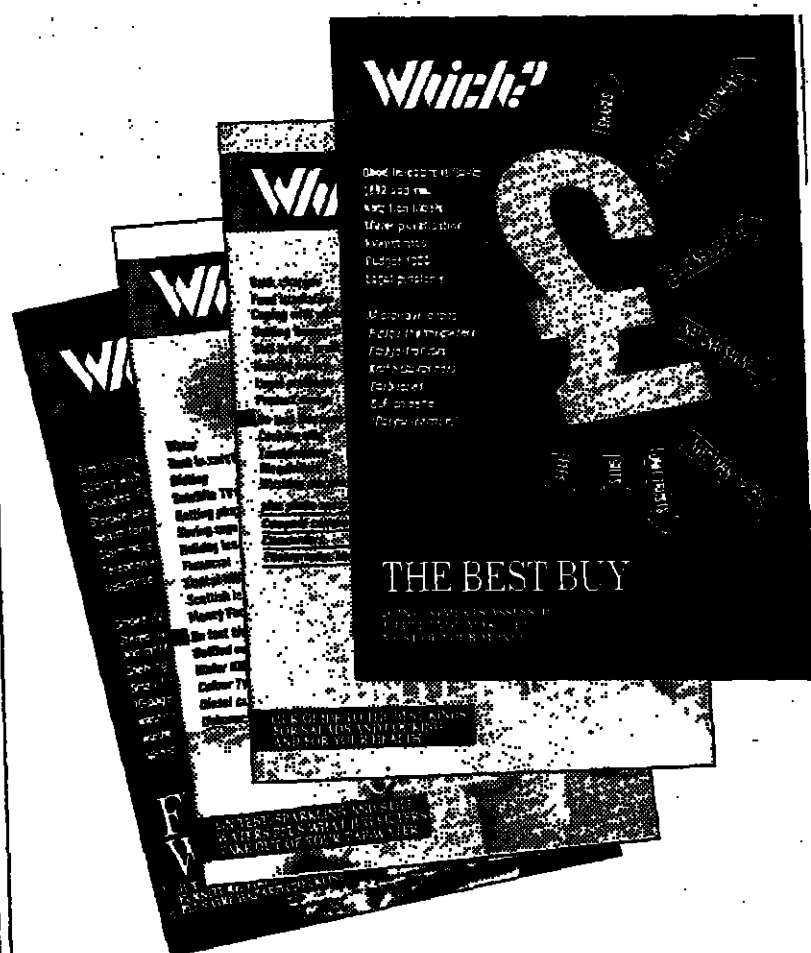
Steve Morrison, Granada's director of programmes, said: "It was an irresistible subject and an opportunity we just could not turn down."

Banning fears: Alexander Nevzorov, Russia's most famous broadcaster and presenter of Leningrad's controversial *600 Seconds*, told broadcasters in Edinburgh that he feared that he would be arrested upon returning to the Soviet Union.

He said Soviet journalists are now being assessed by "which side of the barricades they stand", and added that he feared Boris Yeltsin would ban his programme. Mr Nevzorov, who now describes himself as a "disident", angered reformers with his open support of the Black Berets' use of force against what he described as "extremists" in the Baltic republics last February.

Galina Starovoitova, known to British viewers throughout the coup as Mr Yeltsin's personal adviser, said that she could give no assurances that *600 Seconds* and other programmes which had supported the hardliners would not be banned.

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Which?
THE UNBIASED FACTS

High-tech hit leads revival for cinemas

By MICHAEL HORSWELL

THE latest science fiction and high-tech extravaganza from the all-action film studios of Arnold Schwarzenegger is spearheading cinema-going's fightback as a national occupation.

Demand for seats at screenings of *Terminator 2*, which opened at 330 British cinemas this month, is outstripping supply. The film took £2.5 million in its first three days, narrowly overtaking the thriller *The Silence of the Lambs*, which grossed £2.3 million in the same period.

Yesterday the industry welcomed new figures indicating that British cinemas will have a record-breaking audience of more than 100 million this year. In the first six months of the year there were 47.8 million cinema visits, an increase of 11.6 per cent over the same period in 1990. In June there was a 74 per cent increase over the same month last year.

Wilf Stevenson, director of the British Film Institute, welcomes the boom but points out that up to 95 per cent of what audiences see is of American origin. Nevertheless, the institute says, the British film industry has maintained its high international reputation with such successes as *Henry V* and *Memphis Belle*, while Peter Greenaway's *Prospero's Books* has been selected for the Venice film festival and Ken Loach's *Riff-Raff* as British entry for the European film of the year.

The cult figure of Hannibal "the Cannibal" Lecter, the convicted mass murderer played by the British actor Anthony Hopkins in *The Silence of the Lambs*, brought the biggest half-year attendance figure since 1980. It took a world record £290,937 for one cinema in a single week, at the Odeon, Leicester

Square, in London. The cinema boom follows an estimated drop in television viewing last year of 7 per cent, despite the extended broadcasting hours, though this year the figure is believed to have declined only marginally to an average 17 hours per person per week.

Michael De Salis, manager of the Broadcasters' Audience Research Board, said: "Television viewing is not what it used to be in the Seventies but a lot of what has been written about the decline of television is a load of codswallop. When time-watch viewing [recording programmes on video] and satellite television is taken into account television is steady, though it might be down a little bit."

According to Andrew Feist of the Policy Studies Institute, the annual number of video loans slipped from a peak of 376 million in 1989 to 374 million last year. The institute reports that cinema audiences increased from 53 million in 1984 to 98 million last year. Between 1979 and 1984 the amount spent by cinema-goers fell from £130 million a year to £104 million. With the emergence of multi-screen cinemas, spending rose to £220 million last year, a figure which the industry expects to be easily overtaken year.

Since the mid-Eighties 387 screens have been installed at 41 new purpose-built venues in Britain, setting a trend on which the industry is pinning its hopes for cinema's continued revival.

Rosa Bosch, deputy director of the London Film Festival, said: "In times of recession cinema does better than more expensive art. A young man taking out a young lady might spend up to £7 a head going to the pictures but up to three times as much taking her to the theatre."



Thrifty: Sir Michael Hordern with trusty fishing equipment at Bagnor, Berkshire

Anglers' simple pleasure becomes big business

An actor knight has put elegance in a supporting role when fly-fishing, but the fast-growing sport costs others more dearly, Stewart Tendler writes

SIR Michael Hordern, actor and angler, would be the first to acknowledge that his approach to fly-fishing is long on economy and practicality and short on elegance. Gym shoes, bush hat, old cane rod and well-worn reel are part of a style that once brought him a severe upbraiding for scruffiness by another angler on one of the country's finest trout rivers.

Not adverse to modernity, Sir Michael, who is 79 and has been an angler since five, has recently bought a fishing vest in which to keep equipment, but he often forgets to take it. He used to wield a large old-fashioned door key to stun and kill trout that he caught. He has now lost it. Other equipment includes a pair of nail scissors stuck into a cork, often gripped between his teeth, with which to cut away nylon or hooks.

Sir Michael's reel is a "fine

old thing". His net is "very old, but good" and his flybox is "one of those aluminium things". There is a cherished fishing bag and, although the Ritz Super Parabolic cane rod has been superseded by something lighter and more modern, that is the rod that he always keeps readied. His flies are made at home. There is a pair of Polaroid glasses, which enhance vision into water, but they are broken. His brother, "Shrimp", aged 86 and out fishing a few days ago, believed until recently that the glasses were cheating.

Shrimp probably disapproves of many other developments in angling. Fly-fishing, a blend of suspense, excitement

and tranquility, has an estimated 600,000 adherents and is the fastest growing area of angling, the largest participatory sport in Britain, and this growth has spurred manufacturers and technologists to seek new materials and designs for anglers fishing rivers or the increasing number of stillwaters.

It was Arthur Ransome, a keen fly-fisherman as well as a writer, who noted that a fisherman's addiction for tackle shops was second only to a desire to catch fish. Few anglers can pass a shop without stopping off at it, and few can leave without a purchase. The basic tools have not changed. An angler cannot

survive without rod, reel and line and an artificial fly. The key development is in the manufacture of rods, which have become ever lighter. Gone are the days of the solid Victorian wooden rods made from greenheart, the traditional split cane and, more recently, glass fibre. Use of carbon fibre in the past decade has brought rods that weigh only a few ounces, but are still strong and can be used for hours without strain.

Reels are lighter and well-engineered. Lines are no longer made of silk, which required lengthy attention. Modern lines are plastic-coated, hard-wearing and long-lasting. They come in a variety of weights and densities to let anglers cast further or sink lines to various depths. New textiles and materials make the artificial fly more lifelike and durable.

As a result, the bill for the

angler who eschews Sir Michael's modest line and wants the best of everything can be big. In Pall Mall, at the House of Hardy, which considers itself the Rolls-Royce of tackle companies, the finest equipment would easily exceed £1,000. A Hardy Sovereign Smuggler carbon fibre 9ft rod, for 6/1 line, which divides into five sections for ease in travel, costs £306, a Hardy Sovereign reel costs £153.20, and a buoyancy spray for flies is £2.99.

The cost of fishing a river can vary from a few pounds a day in Scotland, the North or the West Country to over £100 for a beat on great chalk streams such as the Test in Hampshire.

Whatever the cost, neither tackle-makers nor river owners can guarantee success. For all the money put into angling, no one has yet made the fly that no trout can resist.



Source: House of Hardy, Pall Mall

Golfers accused of ousting picnickers

By DOUGLAS BROOM
LOCAL GOVERNMENT
CORRESPONDENT

GOLF courses, theme parks and holiday villages are threatening to destroy the tranquillity that draws most people to the countryside, the Council for the Protection of Rural England said yesterday.

Responding to a Countryside Commission paper on access to the countryside, the council said local authority planners were placing too much emphasis on developing golf courses and theme parks. Leisure developments might meet the needs of a minority, but they destroyed the beauty and peace of the country for the majority.

Neil Sinden, the council's planning officer, said that of the 18 million people who visited the countryside on a typical summer Sunday, only 9 per cent went to commercial attractions. Those included National Trust and English Heritage properties, and the proportion of country visitors heading for theme parks and leisure centres was less than 5 per cent, or about 900,000 people. More than eight out of ten people visited the countryside at least once a year and most went to unwind away from the pressures of urban life.

The council wants Michael Heseltine, the environment secretary, to introduce stricter controls on non-agricultural development in the countryside, particularly in areas of outstanding natural beauty (AONB). Mr Sinden said: "Intrusive leisure schemes threaten to change the face of rural England. We need new priorities for rural recreation which emphasise informal pursuits such as picnicking and walking."

One planned development which the council wants stopped is for golf courses on three adjoining farms in south Oxfordshire, which would swallow up 367 acres of Chilterns farmland, designated areas of outstanding natural beauty.

The site is close to Mr Heseltine's Henley-on-Thames constituency. Ann Liddard, chairman of the Henley and Mapledurham branch of the protection council, said: "We are sandwiched between Reading and Oxford and many people come here at the weekends to escape from the rat race."

On the Longleat estate in Wiltshire, Centre Parcs has applied to build a 600-chalet holiday village in a 400-acre wood, part of an area of outstanding natural beauty. Up to 3,000 guests and staff would occupy the complex.

AGENDA THE WEEK AHEAD

Today: Last day of Notting Hill carnival.

Tomorrow: Pensioners' charter published. British Association for the Advancement of Science meeting opens at Plymouth. John Major leaves for the United States.

Wednesday: Labour report on health service released. National Economic Development Council announces proposed changes to public holiday dates.

Thursday: Christie's auctions Beatles memorabilia. Mintel report on consumer health care published.

Friday: Blackpool illuminations start. TGWU starts campaign for national pesticides policy.

Saturday: UK contemporary jazz festival, Crawley, West Sussex.

Sunday: Japanese festival begins. London. Landscape photography festival opens, Derby.

The joys of science go on show

BRITAIN'S annual scientific jamboree gets under way today in Plymouth as 300 speakers and more than 2,000 delegates gather for Science 91, the annual meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science (Nigel Hawkes writes).

The conference will try to prove again that science, as well as offering knowledge and a source of prosperity, can be fun. Its themes are the quality of life, wealth creation and the dinosaur, the "terrible lizard" named at the association's 1841 meeting.

The president, Sir Denis Rooke, is expected to devote his address today to Britain's failure to exploit science.

Hire warning

Holidaymakers paying for hired cars by credit card could end up being charged more than they bargained for, the Consumers' Association says today. Many car hire firms have contracts which allow them to take whatever they think they are owed from a customer's credit card account, said the association, which advised that hirers should pay by cheque where possible.

Waite denial

Lambeth Palace yesterday "strenuously denied" a report that the family of Terry Waite, held hostage in Lebanon since 1987, had established a direct line of communication to him as result of information from John McCarthy, released earlier this month. David Waite, his brother, said that no such links existed.

Man recaptured

A man convicted of sex offences against children who absconded from a clinic in Moseley, Birmingham, has been recaptured after eight days. Ronald Spencer was found in Peckham, southeast London.

The Laptops of the Gods.

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Big brewers under fire

OFT accuses GrandMet of misleading publicans

By TONY DAWE

ONE of the companies at the centre of the battle between the big brewers and their public house tenants has been criticised by the Office of Fair Trading for the way it is trying to impose rent rises.

Grand Metropolitan Estates has been accused of misleading publicans by telling them that "to comply with new government regulations" they

must end their tenancies and take on 20-year leases at higher rents. The company is required to offer tenants more security by bringing them under the scope of the new Landlord and Tenant Act but this could be done by amending existing agreements.

Instead, GrandMet has given many of its tenants notice to quit and then offered

them the new leases. The company has said its action is necessary because of a government order and undertakings given to the OFT after it acquired pubs from Courage earlier this year.

The OFT has told the company: "Neither the order nor the undertakings require tenancies to be converted to 20-year leases. The reality, as you know, is that this is a commercial decision reached by the company."

A letter from the OFT's competition policy department to GrandMet Estates asks the company to "refrain from using such wording in future". The letter has been passed to *The Times* by the National Licensed Victuallers Association, which says thousands of publicans will lose their livelihoods without compensation because of the way the brewers are interpreting the new regulations.

The main aims of the reforms were to free 11,000 pubs from the ties of the top six brewers by the end of next year and to improve conditions for tenants. "What is happening is the reverse of what was anticipated," Garry Edwards, of the NLVA, said.

The threat to landlords has been deployed by over 120 MPs in an early-day motion signed before the recess.

for repairs. The property is falling apart and needs £65,000 spent on it."

When the government introduced regulations two years ago to improve competition in the trade, ministers intended that, in a town like Salcombe, GrandMet might retain one pub tied to selling its own products, free another of such ties and probably sell the third to an independent company. One of the two other pubs in Salcombe is owned by Bass and the other by a small independent brewer.

GrandMet intends to keep its three pubs and to ensure that they continue to sell their own brands. It argues that the 20-year leases give greater security to tenants, who will be able to sell them on if they wish, that new rents will be fixed for five years and that tenants will be able to keep the income from gaming and other machines.

Colin Power's annual rent for the 250-year-old Shipwright Arms in Salcombe is being increased from £10,200 to £27,500 and he will be responsible for repairs and insurance. He said: "The place is barely viable at the moment and there is no way we are going to be able to afford nearly three times the current rent."

David Lightfoot at the King's Arms is waiting for the holiday season to end before starting negotiations with GrandMet. "My wife and I have been in the pub for 17 years and would be happy to sign a 20-year lease at a reasonable rent," he said. "But if we are asked for a very high rent, we would have to think again about the future."

Airliner averts collision

AN AIRLINER carrying 54 people swerved when its pilot feared a collision with a light aircraft over Glasgow airport, according to a report to the Civil Aviation Authority.

The air miss, which happened on Saturday, involved an Aer Lingus Fokker 50 and a four-seat Piper Cherokee, the authority said yesterday. The Fokker left the airport for Dublin at 4.15pm. At about 1,000ft its pilot saw the Cherokee and took "avoiding action". The authority said that it did not know how close the aircraft were.

Both aircraft were under traffic control from the airport at the time. "These details are subject to confirmation and will be fully investigated by the Independent Joint Air Miss Working Group, whose members include airlines and air traffic controllers," the authority said. It added that in the past five years an annual average of 60 incidents involving public transport aircraft had been reported, and about 80 per cent were concluded by the working group to have entailed no risk.

A spokesman for Aer Lingus in Dublin said that he had no knowledge of the incident. He added that the Fokker was full, with 50 passengers and four crew, and reached Dublin airport eight minutes early.

No details of the Cherokee were available.



Water wings: Tom Crawford on his inaugural flight

Home-made plane makes first flight

By KERRY GILL

AN AEROPLANE that a former second world war bomber pilot built in his living room has had its inaugural flight.

The two-seater amphibious Kingfisher, which took Tom Crawford six years to complete at his home on the Isle of Bute, off the west of Scotland, circled the island, dipped over the Firth of Clyde and climbed to 3,000ft on the test flight. "Now that she has completed the first part of her test flying I am hoping the Kingfisher will qualify for her full flying certificate," Mr Crawford said.

Work on the aircraft took over the family's living room, rear sitting room, attic and garage. Mr Crawford's wife, Betty, stitched together the wings fabric at their home in Port Bannatyne on Bute.

Mr Crawford, aged 78, flew Sunderland flying boats and Stirling bombers during the war, since when he has built several gliders and boats. His first airborne venture took

place when he was a boy: he made a hand glider with his grandmother's bedsheet and jumped off the Campsie Fells north of Glasgow.

George Cormack, who acted as engineer on the inaugural flight, will be responsible for issuing the Civil Aviation Authority airworthiness certificate once the seaplane has undergone further tests.

"This is a very stable aircraft and flies really well. We did a number of take-offs and landings on water and land," said Mr Cormack after they had waited six hours for the wind to drop to allow the initial take-off. The Kingfisher, thought to be the only one of its type built in Europe, is capable of 120mph.

Mr Crawford, who flew his first glider when he was aged 15, has already started a new project, the restoration of a 1941 Tiger Moth. He is also building a small Siget aeroplane, which again is taking shape in the living room.

Sea-racing heyday recalled

By JOHN SEAW

AS BRITAIN withdraws from next year's America's Cup yacht races, after competitors hit financial squalls, memorabilia from Sir Thomas Lipton, one of its greatest sportsmen, appears at auction in London.

Sir Thomas, who became a grocery millionaire at 30, spent more than £1 million trying unsuccessfully to win the trophy over 30 years. His optimism, determination and good humour in defeat earned praise even from the hyper-competitive Americans.

Sir Thomas was almost 51 when he developed a passion for ocean racing and issued his first challenge for the America's Cup with Shamrock I, the first of many yachts to carry

the name Shamrock. The Prince and Princess of Wales, later Edward VII and Queen Alexandra, were frequent guests at Osidge, Sir Thomas's early 19th-century home set in 50 acres at Southgate, then a small country village north of London. Sir Thomas died in 1931 and his will set up a charitable trust, which included the estate and an endowment of £20,000, for the property to be used as a home for retired nurses.

It still fulfils that role and the trustees are now selling most of his sailing memorabilia and original furniture to finance improvements and provide additional facilities and comforts for the house's 26 residents. Of particular

sailing interest is a capstan barometer by Benzie of Cowes, a pair of bronze busts of Edward VII and Queen Alexandra and a collection of Sir Thomas's personal racing flags for the Shamrock challengers. The collection is expected to make between £10,000 and £15,000 at Phillips in Bond Street on December 3.

Chinese ceramics and other antiques are leaving Hong Kong in increasing numbers for Britain because of uncertainty about what happens after the Chinese government takes control of the colony in 1997. Local dealers suspect that China will extend its own ban on the export of antiques.

هكذا امتحانك

Bedtime soporific goes sailing by untouched

Plans to streamline the BBC's weather forecasting will leave Radio 4's shipping forecast untouched, Alan Hamilton is relieved to report

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Bonn tells Belgrade it must call a halt to army bloodshed

From TIM JUDAH AND DESSA TREVISAN IN BELGRADE

DIPLOMATIC pressure on Serbia increased over the weekend with the summoning of the Yugoslav ambassador in Bonn by Hans-Dietrich Genscher, the German foreign minister.

In a note given to the ambassador, Herr Genscher stated: "If the bloodshed is to continue and if the policy of a *fait accompli* with the support of the Yugoslav army is not stopped immediately, the German government will have to give serious consideration to the recognition of Croatia and Slovenia within their present borders." Herr Genscher also gave a warning that Germany would insist that the European Community should also re-examine its policy.

He said this stand had been taken as a result of reports from the EC monitoring mission which said that the Yugoslav army was often acting in concert with rebel Serb militias. Herr Genscher's statements are the most ex-

plicit yet by any EC foreign minister and reflect the widespread view within the EC that army involvement is now the most important factor preventing the implementation of a ceasefire.

It is not clear to what extent army units in eastern Croatia and south of Zagreb are acting autonomously or how high their chain of command reaches. The eastern Croatian city of Osijek was bracing itself for an attack yesterday after the intense fighting of the weekend. "The army blockades Osijek," ran the leading headline in the main Croatian daily *Vjesnik*.

Yesterday fighting involving the Yugoslav air force was reported round the Croatian town of Vukovar and casualties were said to be heavy. Unconfirmed reports claimed that a naval unit had been in action against Croatian police off the Dalmatian coast.

Croats have been forced to retreat from much of the

Baranja region, north of Osijek, where at least 12 people were reported to have died over the weekend. Croatian television claimed that for the first time two jets had been shot down, but the Yugoslav military authorities said that two had been hit but only one crashed after its pilot ejected safely.

Erhard Busek, the Austrian vice-chancellor, reiterated Herr Genscher's stand by saying: "The collapse of communism in the Soviet Union changes the situation in Yugoslavia too. There is no more reason to hesitate in recognising Slovenia and Croatia... for them, quick recognition becomes a question of survival and the Austrian government must not stand to one side."

While these declarations are bound to delight the Croatian government they are also certain to help rekindle old Serbian fears of German domination in the Balkans.



Holding the bridge: during continued fighting yesterday a Croatian national guardsman defends a bridge near Okucani. Two days ago Yugoslav army tanks crushed the barricades built across it

De Klerk plans one man, one vote

From RAY KENNEDY IN JOHANNESBURG

A PLAN for the total reshaping of government in South Africa, with a two-chamber parliament elected on a proportional representation basis of one person, one vote, is to be unveiled by the ruling National party next week.

President de Klerk is to present the plan to a special federal congress of the ruling National party in Bloemfontein, capital of Orange Free State, next Wednesday. If approved, the plan will then be submitted for ratification to the four provincial party congresses — the Free State congress the following day and later to the Cape, Natal and Transvaal National parties.

The Afrikaans newspaper *Rapport* said yesterday that 18 months of work had gone into the plan but that some members of the National party's federal board were uneasy and preferred to delay releasing the plan for about another two months. However, the board decided to tell voters and the majority of black non-voters what the party was considering, the paper said, adding that final details of the document would be worked out this week.

The main proposals are: scrapping the office of executive state president and replacing it with a three to five-person executive and a cabinet representing all elected parties; scrapping the tricameral parliament of separate white, Coloured and Asian chambers in favour of a two-chamber legislature with the lower house elected on proportional representation basis according to percentage support nationwide; and scrapping existing local government structures and drawing up new municipal boundaries to be governed by councils representing people irrespective of colour. The country would be divided into nine districts each with its own multiracial government.

Mr de Klerk emphasised in an address to National party supporters in Pietermaritzburg, Natal, at the weekend that in his "new South Africa" no single party would be in total control. "Participatory democracy" is the new catchphrase of party planners.

No provision is apparently made in the plan for any guaranteed block of parliamentary seats for whites. There is clearly confidence within the government that in a proportional representation election the African National Congress would fail to win more than 50 per cent of the popular vote.

Malagasy coalition formed

From GAVIN BELL IN ANTANARIVO

THE prime minister of Madagascar, Guy Razanamasy, will announce a caretaker government today to try to resolve the political conflict which has brought the island to the brink of anarchy and economic ruin.

The coalition, comprised of politicians from ruling and opposition parties and technocrats, aims to supervise the drafting of a new constitution, the revision of electoral laws, and the staging of presidential and parliamentary elections within a year. The broad thrust of the initiative is to set the impoverished nation of 12 million people on the path of Western-style democracy and free market economics after 16 years of socialist rule by President Didier Ratsiraka.

Steering reform will be Mr Razanamasy, a respected civil administrator and neutral political figure, who was appointed prime minister by Mr Ratsiraka on August 8 amid mounting opposition to the president's autocratic rule. Mr Razanamasy has been trying to mediate between opposition demands for Mr Ratsiraka's resignation and the president's resolve to stay.

Book exposes corrupt Tokyo

From JOANNA PITMAN IN TOKYO

SHINTARO Ishihara, Japan's most outspoken politician, who came to international prominence two years ago with the first of three best-selling jingoistic books in his *Japan that can say No!* series, has just put another on bookstore shelves.

The new book, *Yes, this is Shintaro Ishihara's office*, is as dogmatic and hard-hitting as his previous volumes and is a best-seller already. This time, however, Mr Ishihara is not on the rampage against American and European prejudice towards "yellow people". Instead, he appears to be out to show up his ruling Liberal Democratic party colleagues.

The book amounts to an attack on the corruption of Japanese politicians. He exposes in detail the election techniques employed by his more venal colleagues, many of whom might be associated with a banana republic than the democracy that Japan purports to be.

Following time-honoured custom, however, Mr Ishihara has been careful to hide behind his secretary. The book is written in the name of Mitsuhiro Yajima, a secretary working in Mr Ishihara's Tokyo constituency office. But as every Japanese knows, it is the job of a political secretary to provide insulation against all kinds of wrath, to resign or even commit suicide if the scandals sticking to his master refuse to go away. Mr Yajima concedes that Mr Ishihara "corrected" the entire book.

The symbolic use of Mr Yajima's name may come in useful, for the book has created many enemies. Revelations include candidates buying up supplies of voting forms and posting 10,000-yen (£50) notes to thousands of voters. There are tales of Diet members dining in the most profitable restaurants in the run-up to elections. Candidates are made at lunch when they might be fed with *o-nigiri* — a lump of fish in a ball of rice, wrapped in a 10,000-yen note. Japanese equivalent of a hamburger with pickles and a £50 note.

Mr Yajima estimates that in the run-up to an election a first-time politician scatters roughly one billion yen like confetti along the campaign trail. Much comes from the party's stock market investments and legitimate donations, but readers of Mr Ishihara's book will learn that vast sums routinely vanish from Japan's donations to struggling Bangladeshi farmers only to reappear in the pockets of Liberal Democratic party politicians.

Much of the political cunning detailed comes as no surprise to the electorate, who have dismissed the political world as beneath contempt. What has excited their curiosity and propelled the book to third place on best-seller lists is that the details have been committed to print by a politician.

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**Klerk
lans
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e vote**

**KAY KENNEDY
JANESBURG**
The total reshaping of the South is a two-stage process. The first stage is to elect a provincial assembly on one vote, to be held by the ruling party next week. The second stage is to plan a special congress of the ruling party in Bloemfontein at Orange Free State on Wednesday. If the plan will then be for ratification in provincial party congresses. The Free State is following day and night. Natal and National parties. The Free State did yesterday that it had gone into at that some men were uneasy and a delay releasing the about another two however, the bond of all voters and the of black non-voters party was considered, adding details of the would be worked on

same proposals are the office of executive president and it with a three in executive and a representing all other, scrapping the parliament of separate, coloured and members in favour of other legislature with a house elected in small representation according to percentage nationwide, and a existing local structures and new municipal to be governed by representing people of colour. It would be divided into districts each with a local government. Klerk emphasised in his to National party in the future state, at the world is 'new South Africa' party would be a trial. 'Participation' is the new catch of party planners. decision is apparently the plan for any general election of parliament or voters. There is confidence within the ment that in a proper representation election can National Congress all to win more than 50 of the popular vote.

**oses
okyo**

YOKO
symbolic use of Mr's name may come in for the book has many enemies. Many include can. Having up supplies, ing forms and post- (50 yen (£50) notes, and tales of Diet ers, waning and dile- torate in lav- stants' purpose- to their offices. it's shrewdest vot- that during the to elections the profitable visits to fates are made at when the might be the - a jump in a ball of rice, and in a 10,000-yen - the Japanese dent of a hamburger picles and a £50

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UN mission brings hope for release of hostages

FROM RICHARD BEESTON IN JERUSALEM

PROSPECTS of a breakthrough in the hostage negotiations improved over the weekend when it emerged that a senior UN official is touring the Middle East on a secret mission to complete details for a prisoner exchange. A spokesman for the Israeli foreign ministry yesterday confirmed that the envoy, Giandomenico Picco, held two days of talks with Israeli officials at the end of last week. Israeli officials refused

to disclose details of the talks, but identified his negotiators as Uri Lubrani, Orit Stein and Yohanna Bein, the same three men who met Javier Pérez de Cuellar, the United Nations secretary-general, in Geneva earlier this month. In interviews yesterday Mr Lubrani, Israel's chief hostage negotiator, gave a very optimistic assessment of the region. While refusing to discuss details of the talks, he described his meeting as "very useful and extremely good" and hinted that he had fresh evidence that one of the missing Israeli servicemen, Captain Ron Arad, an air force navigator, was still alive. "We know that Ron Arad is in the hands of Iranians or Lebanese controlled from Tehran," said Mr Lubrani. "We have hard evidence that he is alive."

Arafat consults Husain

FROM REUTERS IN AMMAN

YASIR Arafat, the Palestine Liberation Organisation chairman, trying to salvage a role for the PLO in a proposed Middle East peace conference, arrived in Jordan yesterday for talks with King Husain.

Mr Arafat began what is expected to be at least a two-day visit to Amman by holding a working lunch with the king. This is his first visit since Jordan, a key player in any conference, announced in July it would attend the American and Soviet-sponsored peace talks with Israel.

The embattled Palestinian leader, estranged from traditional Arab allies because of his support for Iraq in the Gulf war and faced with deep divisions within the PLO, is seen as having no choice but eventually to sanction a Palestinian presence at the conference.

But Palestinian sources said he has been seeking assurances from Washington and Amman on the substance of the peace talks and on other matters before agreeing to the conference and to a joint Palestinian-Jordanian delegation.

The composition of a Palestinian delegation is one of the last obstacles to the talks, aimed at ending four decades of Arab-Israeli conflict. Israel refuses to deal with the PLO, which it views as a terrorist organisation. Washington suspended official dialogue with the group last year after an attack in Israel by a radical faction. But most Palestinians and Arab states still view the organisation as the legitimate Palestinian representative.

The PLC has said it could support the conference if it resulted in Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories in line with United Nations resolutions. It also insists that it be allowed to name Palestinian delegates to the talks and that a Palestinian from annexed east Jerusalem be included in the delegation. Israel opposes dealing with a Palestinian from the city.

Disappointed Iran accuses the West

FROM AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE IN TEHRAN

PRESIDENT Rafsanjani, unhappy with what he sees as lingering Western hostility to Iran, attacked the United States, Europe and Japan for failing to live up to their economic obligations.

He said Iran had made progress in renewing economic ties with the West more than a decade after the 1979 Islamic revolution, but there were still some barriers to Iran's industrial needs. Speaking at a press conference on Saturday, President Rafsanjani accused the French of not paying "us their debts" and complained that France, Britain and Germany have yet to implement some contracts with Iran. He also recalled that

Japan had abandoned a petrochemical project that had almost been completed.

President Rafsanjani referred angrily to Washington's refusal to unfreeze billions of dollars in Iranian assets. He used these examples to show that Iranians should not be deceived by propaganda that the West has halted its "hostility" to Iran. "The French have still not paid us their debt. (Some of) our contracts with Britain, France and Germany have still not been implemented. This is despite the friendly relations we have with these countries."

The Iranian authorities view French-Iranian talks on a financial dispute as an agreement on settling French debts. The dispute concerns a \$1 billion (£599 million) loan provided to the Eurodif nuclear fuels company in 1974 by the late Shah of Iran through France's Atomic Energy Commission. He went on: "The Japanese declined to complete the petrochemical project although 85 per cent of the work had been done."

He said Iran had succeeded in penetrating the fence of economic sanctions, but we "cannot claim that we have been able to completely shatter this wall as it is still there and stands strong."



Rafsanjani: the wall around Iran is still standing



Racial tension: two Hasidic Jewish children standing in front of the heavily guarded Lubavitch Centre in New York before a protest march led by the Rev Al Sharpton, the flamboyant black militant. The wall of police helped to prevent serious incidents when Mr Sharpton defied the pleas of David Dinkins, the mayor, and led about 200 demonstrators through Crown Heights, the Brooklyn district that saw three days of rioting last week after a car driven by a Lubavitch sect member killed a black child (Charles Bremner writes from New York).

Cambodia offers to cut army

Pattaya, Thailand - Hun Sen, the Cambodian prime minister, said on the eve of peace talks yesterday that his government was willing to reduce its armed forces by 40 per cent to facilitate peace. The disarmament and demobilisation of rival armies will be the key issue at the talks with guerrilla opponents, including the Khmer Rouge. "Our government has a new proposal which we will submit. We accept to reduce our armed forces and weapons by 40 per cent," Mr Hun Sen said. (Reuter)

Desert rout
Algiers - Polisario guerrillas said that Moroccan troops had entered Bir Lahlou, the oasis town they use as their headquarters, and civilians were fleeing into the Western Sahara where they risked dying of thirst. (Reuter)

Election win
Mexico City - The ruling Institutional Revolutionary party took 61.4 per cent of the votes at last week's elections, the right-wing National Action party 17.7 per cent, and the left-wing Democratic Revolutionary party 8.2 per cent.

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Terminal butter phobia

Egon Ronay reports on the jet-set sandwiches now arriving at Heathrow

WHAT is so difficult about making a good sandwich? It does not require skill. Any child of 12 can be shown how to do it.

How come, then, that in tasting 100 of the sandwiches on offer at Heathrow airport last month, I still met with a small number of horrors such as a "hot breakfast muffin" with cheese the consistency of melted rubber, stone-hard, dried-out bacon in a sandwich "prepared to order", limp salad leaves, only traces of ham in a ham sandwich, with small blobs of overly hot mustard lazily left unsprayed?

These were, it must be said in a small minority. In the past I have severely criticised catering at Heathrow in two surveys, the last in 1988. So I was surprised to be asked by the privatised Heathrow Airport Ltd to assess its sandwiches and coffee, and its outlets in general. This was not an offer I could refuse, if only to see whether my comments had had any effect. It meant visiting 19 outlets in four terminals in a month.

The improvements have been quite remarkable, even if a few outlets still lag behind. The most important change was the disappearance of catering monopolies in the terminals. In Terminal 1 alone, for example, there are now no less than five caterers.

The other, even more satisfying change was in quality, at any rate in respect of sandwiches and coffee, to which my survey was limited. I found many sandwiches which could not have been improved. The winning one was a scrumptious assembly of roast chicken pieces, spring onions, butter and mayonnaise, bulging in excellent brown granary bread. And about half of the 100 or so sandwiches were at least acceptable. What is the reason for this refreshing change?

The British Airports Authority is the first such organisation I know to take an active hand in the matter of food standards at its catering concessions. The Heathrow management has taken heed of my earlier reports and suggestions and has insisted on adjustments, working with the management to improve or change ingredients where

necessary. This augurs well for future standards at places with public catering concessions.

Though the airport management is determined to exorcise the remaining shortcomings, the deeper reasons behind these are disheartening. Too many people in Britain have grown up without any food culture and have never developed a feel even for simple food that they handle. This lack of taste in basic preparation, culinary sloppiness and take-it-or-leave-it attitude are rare on the Continent; nor will you find many food-blind supervisors allowing such monstrosities to pass.

Were it not for this inherent defect, the sandwiches at Heathrow would take little to remedy, particularly as almost all the bread and baguettes used are so good. But I wonder what it would take to cure the mysterious affliction from which all Heathrow caterers suffer: butter phobia.

I RATED the products of five caterers. The largest of them, Forte, one of those I criticised three years ago, came first, followed by Grand Ma Lee, then SAS, the airline subsidiary, and Town & Country, which has been taken over from J. Lyons by the Swiss Peter Abt.

Last in the league table came Travellers Fare, formerly owned by British Rail and now a private company. As for amenities, the improvements are, in some cases, spectacular. Grand Ma Lee's Plaza Café at Terminal 2, with its colourful umbrellas, could be on the Rue de la Paix in Paris. Forte's appropriately named Fresh Approach at Terminal 3, beyond Customs has a most impressive display and obliging staff. And the Upper Crust at Terminal 3 is stylish and atmospheric.

But a handful of outlets still need shaking up and refurbishing, their ragged trays replacing, their tables more frequent cleaning and their rarely seen supervisors brainwashing. I am assured by Heathrow's management that this is only a matter of time. Anyhow, they would soon be forced out of business by that new airport phenomenon, competition, which clearly is working well at Heathrow.

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Alastair Robertson meets the marching, and drinking, men of Lonach as they prepare to be reviewed by the Queen

Games Highlanders play

Between 8am and 11am on Saturday, the men of Lonach marched six miles in full Highland dress and consumed 1,200 drams of whisky without, as far as anyone could tell, missing a step. Armed with 12th pikes, halberds, swords, dirks and iron constitutions, they were marched first up Strathdon and then down again by 75-year-old Major Sir Hamish Forbes, bard of Newe, with six whisky stops on the way.

Largely unknown beyond their isolated Aberdeenshire strath, the Lonach Highlanders have been performing the same feat on and off for 150 years, world wars permitting. On September 6 they will do it all again. Led by Sir Hamish, on a horse called Wizard, 100 men will march to pipes and drums over the hills to Braemar, 20 miles away.

They will stop eight times for refreshment, camp before the walls of Braemar Castle, roast a deer and address themselves to a cask of whisky and several barrels of beer. The following day they will parade with new colours before the Queen at the Braemar Gathering, as their forebears paraded the old colours before Queen Victoria in 1853.

The march to Braemar was conceived as part of the 150th anniversary celebrations of the Lonach Highland and Friendly Society on the banks of the River Don. The society was founded in 1823 by Sir Charles Forbes to commemorate his son's majority, preserve Highland custom and language, and relieve hardship among its local members — which it still does.

Twelve years later, for no obvious reason, the Forbes tenantry celebrated the event again by marching to the then family seat of Edinglassie, with frequent hospitality stops. They have been at it ever since.

This year, the annual spectacle was to be complicated by the presentation not only of a "letters patent" granting the society a coat of arms, but also the presentation of new colours in the games arena. This was to involve one duke, a Lord Lieutenant, Ross Herald of Arms and a series of complex marchings and counter-marchings.

The rehearsals were in general good humouredly shambolic. On the command "colour party by the left quick march", a chorus of complaint drifted across the arena to the effect that its members were busy signing a petition to save the Gordon Highlanders, and everyone would have to hang on a minute.

The colour parties were eventually dispatched, wondering who they were and where they were going. After two rehearsals it was generally felt another might have



Time out: the Lonach Highlanders, an amiable bunch of estate mechanics, woodcutters and tractor drivers, "adopt a lazy posture"

been useful, but as it was getting on, everyone wanted to go home. "It'll be all right on the day," said "Gibbie" McIntosh, the secretary.

In the morning, the men of Lonach assembled outside the shop at Ballabeg. What the night before had been an amiable bunch of estate mechanics, woodcutters and tractor drivers in dungarees had suddenly become a fearfully romantic looking body of men. Tough, fierce, proud and loyal — everything a Highlander is supposed to be, despite a tendency to suck nervously on cigarettes while waiting for things to happen.

This year, the Lonach Highlanders were joined by a contingent of Atholl Highlanders, the Duke of Atholl's private army, the only one in Europe. The Athollmen carried real rifles rather than pikes. Captain Colin Farquharson, Lord Lieuten-

ant of Aberdeenshire, had granted special dispensation that allowed them to march around Strathdon with bayonets fixed, "provided they clean off any blood and nasty bits".

And so they marched westward, a brave sight, followed by farmer Willie Gray and Prince pulling the Lonach cart for those who fell beside the wayside, which none did. At Greystone, nerve centre of the Wallace Estates, 200 Highlanders "sank their first dram of the day". It was also their first opportunity to hear Sir Hamish issue the much anticipated order "adopt a lazy posture", apparently the pikeman's equivalent of stand easy. Alastair Wallace, grided and belted with yards of Wallace tartan, and feathers sticking out of his bonnet, made a

few cheerful remarks about the Soviet situation and how lucky it was the men of Lonach had not been called upon to sort it out.

At Tornasham, once his wife's family home, Lieutenant Colonel Michael Lowry, an author of Nato briefing notes, exhorted the Highlanders to spare a thought for those caught up in regional conflict and told a story about a polar bear and two men. "Three cheers," said Sir Hamish, and down went another case of whisky.

There was what is known in the coach party trade as "a comfort stop". Two hundred Highlanders wrestled in the roadside undergrowth with sporan and plaid.

Down at the Colquhoun hotel, three cheers and three stops later, the Highlanders paraded below the hall where they would later sit down

to lunch. Charles Burnett, Ross Herald of Arms, sent to the occasion by the Lord Lyon King of Arms, was piped out of the lounge bar in a floppy black hat and heralded tabard to read the "letters patent". "And now for the dams," said Sir Hamish.

After lunch, the Highlanders marched back to Ballabeg and back into the arena. The colour parties marched and colour-marched to near perfection. Captain Farquharson gave all the right flags to the right people. Outside the arena the fun was just beginning. "Ad you know this," droned major Bel Summers explained, puffing off his high ostrich feather bonnet for the benefit of two admirers. "I marched all the way round the arena at Braemar with a half bottle in the top of it."

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Warrior of the big waves

Hawaii's Ace Cool is chasing liquid monsters around the world to prove he really is the surf god of the planet

I did not have Ace Cool's number, so I rang the Honolulu lifeguard department. "Why don't you try the police department," said the drawing voice at the other end of the line. "They'll have it." To Hawaiian lifeguards, Ace Cool is a walking death wish. He is a man with a quest and his Holy Grail is the biggest wave.

Ace — his real name is Alec Cooke — first sprang to fame in 1985 as surfing's answer to Evel Knievel when a newspaper photograph showed him sliding down the face of a turquoise mountain, closely pursued by an avalanche of white water. The wave — an "outside pipeline", two miles off the North Shore on the island of Oahu — was alleged to be 35ft, the biggest to be ridden.

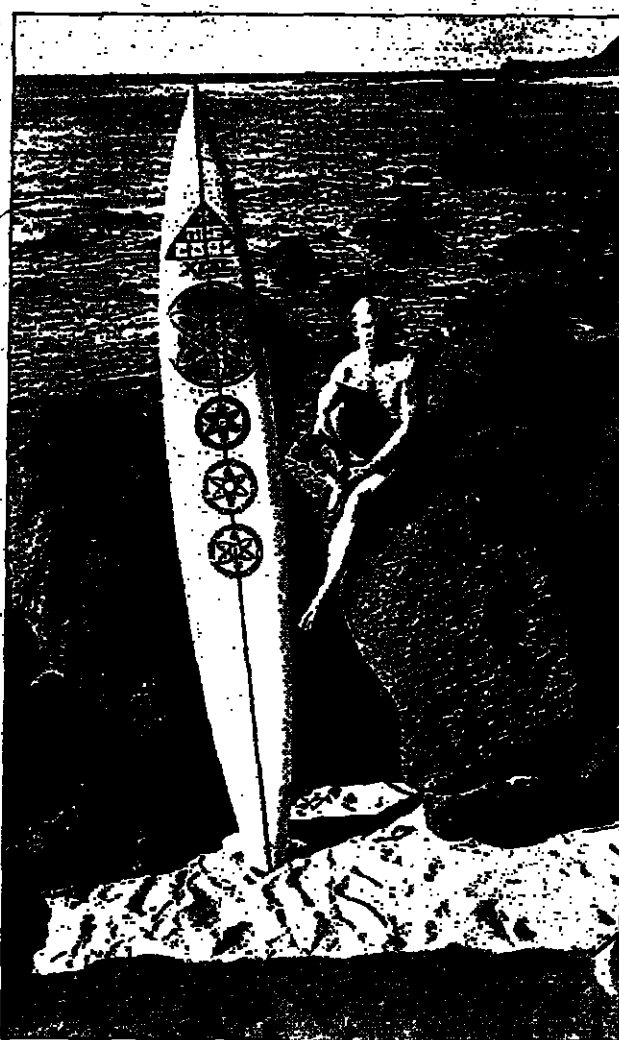
But his peers among the big-wave riding aristocracy of Hawaii derided Ace as a publicity hound and claimed the picture amplified the true size of the wave. Even the *Guinness Book of Records* rejected his claim. "I'm going to put an end to the argument," Ace responded. "I'll surf a 40ft wave."

I went to see him at his house down the road from Waimea Bay, where in winter blue-ribbed behemoths more than 20ft high regularly pound the shore. Even in August, solid six-footers were exercising themselves outside Ace's back gate and putting on weight for the coming confrontation of man and nature. "How's the quest going?" I asked him.

"IT'S STILL ON!" he said. He always speaks in capitals and exclamation marks and when he is in full flow it is like standing under Niagara.

In January 1990, a Zodiac boat from the US Navy Seals dropped him off at Outside Log Cabins, where he claims he caught a couple of 40ft waves. "The trouble is the guy in the helicopter didn't get the shot. If it wasn't photographed, it never happened. Next time there'll be no doubt I'm surf god of the planet."

He is convinced this year will be the big one. "El Niño, the total eclipse of the sun, Pinautob, the lining up of Earth and Venus — they all create huge storms in the northern Pacific and huge swells on the North Shore." With his piercing blue eyes,



A man and his beard: Ace with his "rhino chaser"

corn-gold hair and big, muscled frame clad in a pair of boardshorts, he looked like an advertisement for a Charles Atlas body-building course. Judging by his equally well-built ego, he must have taken another course in "How to Improve Your Self-Esteem". He showed off his new big-wave board, commonly known as an "elephant gun" or "rhino chaser". It was 13½ft long and when Ace stood it on its end it looked like an ivory tower block. "If you want to surf the biggest wave you got to have the biggest board. It's a hydrodynamic fact. I might have to get a 15ft board."

Slung over his shoulder, bandolier-style, he carried a brace of miniature oxygen tanks. He plugged the mouthpiece into his mouth. For a moment the torrent stopped. Then it started again. "I can hold my breath for two minutes, easy. But when there are 40ft waves unloading on the surface, I prefer to lie low for a while."

The 1960s produced a classic surfing movie called *The Endless Summer*, which showed a group of young Californians surfing around the world in 80 waves. Ace was mapping out a more gruelling itinerary, "the endless winter", in which he

would pursue unriden liquid monsters from Alaska to Antarctica, stopping off at Peru, Easter Island, Madagascar and the Great Barrier Reef. "I'll be a hurricane chase!" he said. Earthquakes and typhoons are meat and drink to him. "When California tumbles into the sea, I want to be there."

He is still shopping for the big sponsor as this would be an expensive trip involving a team of meteorologists, doctors, photographers and Jacques Cousteau. "I've tried Guinness. Do you think I should try Carlsberg? Maybe an English stout would like to acquire me as a toy. I'm open to all offers. Fame is fun, but fortune is better."

Ace was also planning his autobiography. "I think I'll call it *The Greatest Story Ever Told*. He recently completed a work — "soon to be a best-selling novel" — called *Nuclear Surf Park*, in which atomic generators churn out artificial waves, 60ft or 70ft high, on five-mile-long indoor lakes and spectators bet on whether the next surfer is going to live or die.

Even in reality, Ace does everything to excess. Over the past few weeks he has had several hundred girls, mostly Swedish, staying in his house after surfing. Into a temporary youth hostel. He was giving most of them surfing lessons, too. (My best students have a been British girls. Their bodyweight-to-strength ratio's good.)

"You want to know why surfers are irresistible to women? We've got positive ions. When you surf a lot you radiate light and life."

Ace Cool, half-man, half-maniac. It would be impossible to say that his actions speak louder than his words, but certainly almost as loud. In case I missed anything, he gave me a 50-page media pack, a video and a postcard — all dedicated to the subject of Ace Cool — to take away.

I squeezed in a last question. "Ace, when you've surfed the biggest wave, what are you going to do next?"

"Surf a bigger one," he said. "And what if you die?"

"I just hope there's surf in heaven."

ANDY MARTIN

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BRIEFING

Arena winner

A NEW film by the Scottish director Gillies Mackinnon, *The Grass Arena*, was voted the best British film of 1990-91 by an international jury at the 45th Edinburgh Film Festival yesterday. The film dramatises the true story of the boxer John Healy, who was reclaimed from a life of alcoholism and crime by a passion for chess. *The Grass Arena* received the Michael Powell Award, sponsored by Shell and the British Academy of Film and Television Arts.

The jury - chaired by the actress Jean Marsh - also gave special mentions to Peter Chelso's *Hear My*



Jean Marsh: jury head

Song, a fantasy based on the eccentric career of the Irish tenor Josef Locky. *One Full Moon*, a Welsh-language film directed by Endaf Emlyn; and *Betty's Brood*, a £2,000 video film made by the Gorbals Unemployed Workers.

The Charles Chaplin New Director Prize, for a first or second feature film, went to the Belgian director Jaco Van Dormael for *Toto le héros*, an endearing whimsy about an elderly man obsessed by the idea that he was switched at birth with a neighbour. Winner of the Edinburgh Young Film Maker of the Year Competition for student filmmakers was an entry from the Polish film school in Lodz, *The Voyage*, a short metaphorical fantasy set in a totalitarian state.

Last chance...

TOMORROW sees the end of two performances described as among the finest of our era. Not everybody has applauded the homosexual emphasis of Gerard Murphy's revival of Marlowe's *Edward II* at the Pit but few have doubted the quality of Simon Russell Beale's vain, touching, venomous king. Meanwhile, John Wood brings an extraordinary variety and emotional volatility to the title-role in Nicholas Hytner's *Leah* at the Barbican. If the RSC (071-638 8891) is riding high again, it is due largely to these two actors.

POP MUSIC

Gone to rock 'n' roll heaven, or perhaps she's stuck in limbo

Twenty-five years after her death, singer Alma Cogan is the subject of two new books and a BBC TV programme. David Toop suggests that records and films mean that 20th century stars never really die

A recent promotional video, created for Natalie Cole's version of "Unforgettable", speaks volumes for technology's capacity to preserve our idols beyond death. Shot in Fifties monochrome, but using Nineties techniques of electronic deception, the video shows Natalie singing with her father, the late Nat "King" Cole. From both visuals and song lyrics, the message is clear. No entertainer of the 20th century is truly dead. In the era of captured images, stars can be revived, remixed and remodelled according to our changing whims and tastes.

Some of the more disturbing implications of this process are investigated by Gordon Burn in his novel, *Alma Cogan* (published this week by Secker & Warburg). Burn has fashioned a strange and complex inner narrative from the reflections of a fictional Alma Cogan. This Alma Cogan still lives. Looking back, she sees her declining fortunes as an entertainer, her subsequent anonymity poignantly contrasted with the obsessive attentions of fans. Her past life belongs to others, now fixed in odd ways by nostalgia clips in the television archives, old records, memorabilia bought and sold by collectors, even a Peter Blake painting in the Tate Gallery.

The real Alma Cogan died in 1966 at the age of 34. Known as "the girl with the laugh in her voice", she was the most popular female singing star in Britain during the latter half of the Fifties. This was a momentous period for entertainment. Television was projecting celebrities into thousands of homes for the first time and, in combination with the emergent force of rock 'n' roll, this powerful medium was about to sweep away the big bands, the crooners and the variety theatres.

Armed with a vivacious personality, sequined and plumed in her legendary bird-of-paradise gowns, Cogan survived within the epoch of mass entertainment for a brief moment, singing upbeat numbers such as "Dreamboat" and "In the Middle of the House". Then came

Cliff Richard and the Beatles. The teenager was invented, Britain found a musical identity, and Cogan was reduced to novelty hits in regions as yet untouched by the new world order. "Just Couldn't Resist Her with Her Pocket Transistor" rose to No 1 in Japan in 1960, but in Britain the hits dried up.

Like a blind runner plunging into darkness, Burn avoided researching her life by all the conventional biographical methods. "I didn't want to get lumbered with the real person," he says. "The whole point is that you're not supposed to be convinced that it is Alma Cogan. I wanted it to be clear all the time that it was a book in a woman's voice written by a man. I wanted

'A vivacious personality, sequined and plumed in her legendary gowns, she survived for a brief moment'

that slippage to keep reminding you that it's me appropriating this real person's private thoughts and memories. Most of it is made up. I wanted to take what I remembered about Alma Cogan and just fantasise around that, the way fans do who become fixated on someone."

All but the most devoted fans might consider Cogan to be a surprising choice for a novel about stardom, fan mania, death and glamour. Although her story is rich in showbiz anecdotes, she lacks the mythical dimension of a John Lennon or Jimi Hendrix.

So why choose her? "I love the name Alma Cogan," answers Burn. "I love the resonances it had. It's a very strong name." He was also

influenced by artists such as Peter Blake and Andy Warhol, who reworked the images of pop singers and film stars in a "high art" medium. "From a literary point of view," he continues, "I love the idea of taking something that was that naff. It was a dangerous thing to write about because it was camp, sentimental, nostalgic."

A more obvious, and surely more important, reason for his choice was the fact that Alma Cogan is dead. Not only did this avoid the libel actions that could have ensued if he had fictionalised a living subject, it also allowed for wilder, even grotesque flights of imagination which test our readings of fantasy and reality.

Interweaving a number of disturbing images, the novel finally expresses a horror at our voracious consumption of celebrities. Burn accepts his participation in the same process, however, as his book launches a bandwagon of media interest in a singer who had been consigned to the ranks of half-forgotten Fifties stars, alive and dead, such as Russ Conway, Lita Roza, Denis Lotis and Michael Holliday.

For a section of *The Lime Grove Story* (BBC 2, today at 4pm) the BBC has disinterred footage of Alma Cogan, singing breezily in front of the cardboard sets that were state of the art in those primitive days. Gordon Burn is called upon to analyse the Alma appeal, as is her sister, actress Sandra Caron.

Sandra Caron's contribution to this unexpected Alma Cogan revival is *Alma Cogan: The Girl with the Laugh in her Voice* (to be published by Bloomsbury on October 24). Being a family biography, her book inevitably projects more warmth than Gordon Burn's novel, yet it tells us little about the way in which our memories of history, our perceptions of famous people, are altered by these intense barrages of nostalgia and analysis.

The Fifties were years of innocence by comparison with the present, where film and music stars



Alma Cogan, in jewel-embroidered ice-blue satin, in 1959: Britain's most popular female singer

such as Madonna are prepared to subject themselves to an unwavering camera voyeurism. Thanks to technology and the nostalgia industry, however, even previously rejected stars such as Cogan can provide sustenance for an audience hungry for images. Has the hunger become

vampiric? "Being a fan is good," Burn offers as a conclusion, "because it is outward, it is creative, it is connecting you with things outside yourself. Whereas once you start fetishising, it is not a route to the outer world. The object then becomes a substitute for life and for real people."

ARTS REVIEWS
Edinburgh Festival,
Opera, Rock, Jazz
and Fringe Theatre
PAGE 18

EDINBURGH FESTIVAL: FRINGE AWARDS

Funny game, comedy

Martin Hoyle, *Times*
critic, on being a
juror for the Perrier
Pick of the Fringe

The Chinese curse, "may you live in interesting times" is evidently aimed at stand-up comics. A momentous week in world politics found comedians on the Edinburgh Festival Fringe in disappointingly cautious mood. More than one act conceded that such things were almost too big to joke about, eh? and reverted comfortably to the golf-clubbed Prince William and the improvised postal duties of John McCarthy. For zestfully up-to-date satire, 1991 Edinburgh is no Weimar Republic Berlin.

Of course, not all comedy acts aim at topicality. Judges on the Perrier Award panel sat through displays of magic and musical clowning, for instance, that made no pretence to social comment. The sought-after accolade of Pick of the Fringe (cash prize plus a London season) is impartially on offer to quality of any sort in the categories of cabaret, revue and comedy, excluding the conventional comic play.

This year's judges, your critic among them, were an amiable, civilised bunch. Dissent at the final result was most apparent in the just perceptible dismay of the scrupulously impartial chairman (Janice Forsyth, the Scottish television presenter) and some women members of both panel and administration. The shortest divided into nice and nasty, and the winner was not seen to be on the side of the angels.

The dark horse was Avner the Eccentric, an American conjuror with a nice line in casual self-deprecation. He handled the audience well, but his show lacked tension, bite, a proper climax, and I cannot imagine adults really enjoying it without children. It fell between the stools of magic and humour.

The fatal charge of niceness was also brought against Eddie Izzard, an engaging stand-up comic whose surreal flights of fancy revealed a cheerfully nonpressed personality. He, too, lacked a cutting edge, and prompted the damning sort of "middle-class neuroses" from the commissioning editor for arts and entertainment at Channel 4. Billed as "The Miserable Bastard", Jack Dee should



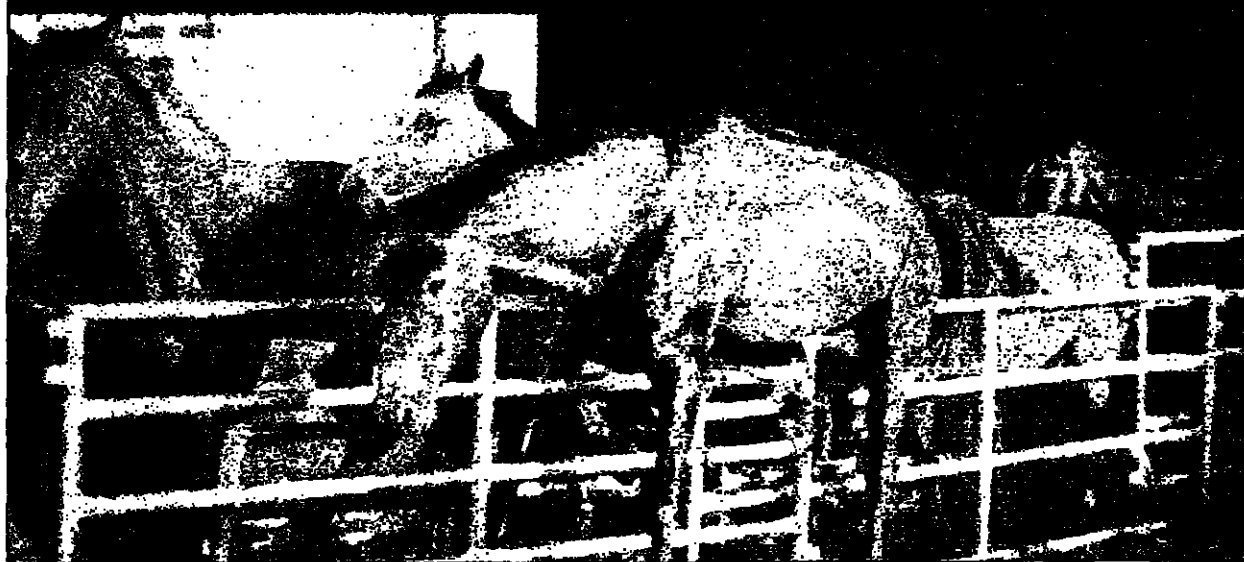
Winner: Frank Skinner

have been safe from such strictures. His misanthropic tirades against British Rail, cars, sensible drivers, craft fairs, and Sooty and Sweep were extremely funny. The cabaret editor of *City Limits* mounted an impassioned campaign that praised his bleak, lonely nihilism, but a fleeting resemblance to a young Ivy League Jack Nicholson and a hint of blandness told against him.

Female talent made the shortlist by proxy. Lily Savage totters on under a mountainous wig of white candyfloss, in high heels and PVC, a beaky Liverpoolian with a baritone voice; the pantomime dame sharpened and enriched in working men's clubs. The act struck me as over-familiar in form and content, but Lily was a strong runner-up. And so, after the longest panel discussion of recent years (three and a half hours), *habemus papam*. The knowledge that the excellent dinner awaiting us would be withheld until we found a winner galvanized the judges on Saturday night. Channel 4, *City Limits* and your critic weighed in for Frank Skinner. The rudest of the lot, his act stands close to sexism, but a savage Swiftian irony surely underlies the jobbiness he voices. Wonderfully polished in handling an audience, Skinner has the exciting potential to go in any direction. The West Bromwich comic could play safe on television or go political. For him, alone of all the stand-ups I saw, the Chinese curse would hold no terror.

Frank Skinner will be among the acts appearing in the Perrier Pick of the Fringe season at the Purcell Room, South Bank, London SE1 (071-928 3002), October 3-20.

33 days and 4 deaths later, the cargo arrives.



22 February 1991, Bari, Italy.

Apart from the dead, there are scores more with horrific injuries. It was only to be expected. The ship should never have been allowed to carry 1100 live, crisscrossed horses. The overcrowded second deck was only 5ft 9 inches high. (Barely adequate for the average pony, but sheer torture for the larger working horses.) Even during the 15 hours of unloading at Bari, the horses were savagely beaten with sticks.

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ILPH

Crusader for Shakespeare



This Friday The TES finds out why Ronnie Watkins has spent 50 years discovering how the plays were performed at the Globe.

THE TIMES EDUCATIONAL SUPPLEMENT

ANDY MARTIN

Martyrs all to the mad, mad illusion

Mary Dejevsky on the fate awaiting Gorbachev, who brought his nation to the brink of freedom but is likely to leave office a sadly diminished figure

Among the human victims of last week's coup attempt — three civilians killed in Moscow, two highly placed suicides and a horde of dispossessed communist officials — one towers above the rest as a truly tragic hero. Mikhail Gorbachev set out to change the Soviet Union. In his success lay both the seeds of his downfall and, for a while to come, the ruin of his reputation in the land of his birth.

"It is all Gorbachev's fault," people have muttered to each other at mass gatherings since his rescue from Crimean captivity. They hardly understand the truth of their words: the events of last week were indeed President Gorbachev's fault, but they were also his historic achievement.

Mr Gorbachev, with a small group of people loyal to his objectives and to him personally, began the processes now known as glasnost and perestroika that have transformed the Soviet Union over the past six years. Haltingly, and always manoeuvring so carefully around the obstacles that the goal seemed at times lost from view, the Soviet leader started to move his country towards the democratic world, in the hope of making it, in his words, "a normal country".

Against diehard opposition from the establishment he had inherited but could not relinquish, he released political prisoners, brought the troops back from Afghanistan, and did not resist the liberation of Eastern Europe. Abroad, he disengaged the Soviet Union from many of its dubious foreign alliances, and at home he allowed ethnic aspirations and diversity to express themselves in ways more real and more threatening than folk dancing.

His greatest achievement was to give the people of the Soviet Union their voice. In the past two years, they have been able to speak openly and without fear in a way that had been impossible since the victory of bolshevism. The process of reform was far from complete. But the Soviet Union of 1991 is a quite different country from the one Mr Gorbachev inherited in 1985.

Probably no one, not even he, knew how far he intended to reform the Soviet Union when he took office. At times he seemed far ahead of public opinion in his vision and had to pause to let the consensus catch up. Recently, while still far ahead of many in his administration, he tended to lag behind. But until last week, he had successfully ridden the tiger of a restless and unpredictable country. The coup, mounted by many of those in his immediate presidential, government and party circles, was the first time he had been thrown.

In retrospect, his own coup in April, when he threw in his lot with the republics and the democrats, may have been his undoing. In circumventing those who ruled with him in the Kremlin, he gave them an opportunity to cement their alliance without him. None the less, it was largely because he stood by the values he advocated — free speech, democracy and constitutionalism — that Boris Yeltsin was able to come back

from the political wilderness to be elected Russian president. And it was largely because the population at large accepted those same values that last week's coup failed. Now, despite being saved by his people, Mr Gorbachev seems destined to leave office a sadly diminished figure. He must be held responsible for surrounding himself with people capable of staging last Monday's coup. Much of the damage to his reputation, however, has been done in the four days since his return and much is self-inflicted. He failed to understand the depth of the change that had taken place during his three days of captivity.

Yelena Bonner, the widow of Andrei Sakharov, said at Saturday's funeral ceremony that the three days of the coup were "not days but a whole epoch". Mr Gorbachev's every subsequent action has been mistimed. Returning to Moscow, he promised to address the Russian parliament, the body that had secured his freedom. On his first full day, he addressed a press conference and gave a television broadcast, but he did not go to the Russian parliament. To Russians, Mr Gorbachev's thanks to their leader in the broadest and press conference seemed ungenuine. When he did go to the Russian parliament the following day, his thanks were fulsome and included Mr Yeltsin personally, but they came too late.

To people who had understood the scale of the treachery against the president and seen the tanks on the streets of Moscow, Mr Gorbachev's insistence on standing by the Communist party and suspending judgment on his captors seemed misplaced. By Friday his tone had hardened. By Saturday, he told the crowds that no mercy would be shown. Again, it was too late.

Especially, he failed to understand the depth of hostility to the party. That hostility was not new, but crystallised during the defence of the Russian parliament. On Thursday, Mr Gorbachev stood by the party. It was not all bad, he told reporters, and should not be written off. Russians were dumbstruck. The politburo had done nothing to defend him, yet he chose to stay with it. By the end of Saturday, Mr Gorbachev had finally understood. He resigned from the party, and the central committee announced itself dissolved. The conclusion was correct, was widely supported, but it was fatally delayed.

Even if Mr Gorbachev remains

president, if only temporarily, he has suffered grievously, not only politically, but personally. His wife, Raisa, is by all accounts seriously ill. His daughter, Irina, was said to be in deep shock when rescued. Treachery and captivity are traumas enough for anyone, but for those accustomed to absolute security and privilege, the ordeal is all the greater.

Almost exactly a year ago, Mr Yeltsin talked to reporters about the radical economic programme known as the 500-day plan, shortly before it was rejected by Mr Gorbachev. On that occasion he suggested that Mr Gorbachev might be regarded not as the first leader of a new system, but as the last leader of the old. This was a harsh assessment and in many respects unjust. In the great sweep of history, he should probably go down as both.

Bernard Levin celebrates three days that demolished an evil empire, made the jailers and torturers tremble in the shadow of retribution, and finally slew the monster of communism, to which the masses have been in thrall

One day, fairly soon, I shall enjoy myself by calling the roll of the British fellow-travellers, and by no means only those who joined the Communist party. I shall ask them why they spent years, in some cases their entire adult lives, telling lies about what they all knew perfectly well was a merciless and murderous cesspit, where the bosses lived in comfort and plenty and the rest lived like pigs — pigs, moreover, very likely to have their throats cut.

But it is the Communist party of the Soviet Union that now demands attention. "Once did she hold the gorgeous East in fee... now lies he there, And none so poor to do him reverence." (You get the idea.) But even I, for more than 30 years the world's most optimistic commentator on Soviet tyranny, never ceasing to proclaim my certainty that I would live to see it fall, even I could hardly dare to believe that in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trump [strictly the first trump], the dead shall be raised incorruptible, and we shall be changed.

Put more prosaically, even I had to breathe deeply to believe that the Soviet Communist party would collapse completely within the space of two days, face disbandment on the third, and be on its way to the indignity of outlawry before the week was over. We have seen the city of Mansoul, even as it rocked, relieved; blessed are they who could not see, but being blind, believed.

"Power tends to corrupt, and absolute power corrupts absolutely", thus the much-quoted Lord Acton. Corruption in the Soviet Union was inevitable, since anything anyone would want was unobtainable except for the bosses, the middlemen of corruption sprang up everywhere to satisfy — at a price — real wants. And since anyone who ran a substantial racket of any kind

would have to have a base from which to run it, the party was the obvious place to set up the stall. When decent food, or a home, or shoes, are unobtainable without favours being done, favours will be done. When a country's money, as in the Soviet Union's, is worthless, visitors from Western countries can make a killing in icons and the like by flashing a fistful of dollars or pounds or marks. More seriously, when a permit, a certificate, a railway ticket, a sick-note can be granted or withheld by a lowly bureaucrat the lowly bureaucrat will demand payment for doing his job. And why should he not? If he is, as I postulate, a lowly bureaucrat, his salary is unlikely to be greater than the supplicant before him, and in addition he runs the risk of being found out by a less lowly bureaucrat who will undoubtedly demand sweeteners, probably on a regular basis.

Higher up the ladder, the more serious the corruption. Dear reader, you and I, by great good fortune, have never been tempted to steal 20 brand-new tractors and sell them, not for money — it is understood that nobody wants the money — but for a precious piece of paper which enables us to live in Moscow, where if we queue for four hours a day we might get a piece of very bad meat twice a month. (Be of good cheer; there are professional queuers in Moscow, and in all the Soviet Union's larger cities.)

I am not exaggerating. I am describing what happened, what had to happen, to the Soviet Communist party, which was the one nationwide body with absolutely corrupt power running all the way through it. Multiply a soul by a mock auction, then multiply the result by a horde of bandits and again by Ali Baba's 40 thieves, and you will have an inkling of what the party actually was; better still, read Gogol's *Dead Souls* which, though written almost exactly 150 years ago, is an exact picture of what organised communism was.

But it cannot be defined only by what it was. It must also, and more realistically, be shown for what it did. And, most fortuitously, even as I write these words, a fax, addressed to me, is dropping from the machine. It reminds me of Alexander Ogorodnikov, about whom I wrote some five years ago. Ogorodnikov was imprisoned and relentlessly tortured for years; his only offence was being a Christian, and practising his faith.

A few samples of his *via crucis* may be of interest, possibly even to the British Communist party. Ogorodnikov was often in a cell so cold that the walls were covered in ice; another cell was deliberately flooded with sewage. He had the cross torn from his neck on more than 30 occasions, and was repeatedly beaten, for such offences as asking for a Bible and prayer book. In the eight years of his captivity he spent a total of 659 days on hunger strike; in desperation he even appealed to the World Council of Churches, though by then he must have known that it was an instrument of Soviet policy.

"The whirling of time brings in

his revenges." He was in the crowd defending the Russian parliament building through the night of the coup. "I cried like a child," he said, "I was so moved, I've never seen such determination to defend freedom." Yet he thought of others, too; throughout the siege he and his Christian Democrat group sustained both the demonstrators and the soldiers who joined them. The food they gave out came from Britain and Holland, and the van they used to distribute it had come earlier this year from Britain through the Movement for Christian Democracy.

Are we awake? Oh, I know the Soviet empire never lacked martyrs, but to think that nobody will throw Ogorodnikov back into prison needs more credulity than I can summon up without great effort. Yet it is true; indeed, it is his jailers and torturers who tremble in the shadow of retribution now.

It was quick thinking on the part of the victors, particularly Boris Yeltsin, to expel from the Communist party premises the people who ran it, and to seal the buildings to prevent the destruction of the tons upon tons of hideously incriminating documents. Believe me, when those files are opened, and the mountainous evil they comprise is given to the world, we shall feel something not far off from what we felt when the death-camps of Nazism were revealed.

For remember another crucial maxim inseparable from corruption: keep all documents, in case you may need them to bargain with. Never was a word hoisted so completely; the instruments that gave the rulers their significance are now turned against those who collected them. I recall that when Khrushchev took the first steps to open the channel house of communism with the "secret speech", there was a great wave of suicides. I think we are going to see very many more in the months to come.

Twenty-five thousand days the Soviet Union lasted, and twenty-five thousand nights as well. Those nights grew longer, and the days shorter, as the terrible years went on. In those years communism was supposed to create a new kind of human being, but all it achieved was a replica of the oldest kind of human being the earth has known: the picker and stealer, the betrayer and accuser, the buyer and seller, the liar and coward, the killer and excuser. Twenty-five thousand days it lived; in three it died. To what vast emptiness do those numbers point! To what great illusion did millions do homage! To what huge devils did Ogorodnikov's faith never bow the knee!

And to what monstrous Thing, called communism, has the world so long been in terrified thrall! Well and good; at least one prophecy can be made with considerable certainty that it will come true. However many days and nights the Soviet Union lasts this time, from beginning to end there will be no more communism.

...and moreover

MATTHEW PARRIS

I see that Edward du Cann is in trouble. I have no idea whether or not any of his difficulties are his own fault and I really do not care. For I shall always like him, smooth-talking old so-and-so though they may say he is. Sir Edward once said something to me which was — just at the moment he said it — so heartening that I feel I could forgive him anything.

It may not seem much of a remark to you. I was sitting in the members' tearoom, head bowed, in a deeper than usual state of depression. I had been an MP for a couple of years and was about 30. There had been some unpleasantness or other about me in a newspaper. The cause of it I long escape my memory, but I remember feeling sure it was unfair and that I did mind.

"Troubled, old chap?" said Sir Edward, amiably. Du Cann was one of those Tory MPs who really did say "old chap".

"Yes," I said. "I've been misrepresented and it bothers me a lot. I suppose when one's been here as long as you, you get used to it and cease to mind."

"Dear boy," said Sir Edward, "a great many people do get used to it." He patted my arm. "But nice people never do."

Very well; you may remind me that he was running for the 1922 Committee at the time: but it matters not. It was simply a great thing to say.

Some theologians argue that at the final judgment our good and bad deeds, our wise and foolish utterances, will be weighed, all of

them, against each other: and it will be determined whether the total good outweighs the total harm. But I believe (and I think it may be taken by the Almighty and judged to outweigh an overwhelming negative balance. I like to think He may have a streak of eccentricity, and, just occasionally, something may catch His eye.

And it need not be an act of virtue. I believe (and I think this may be quite without scriptural authority) that humour, too, may please Him disproportionately. If there is not yet a theological sect founded upon the belief that one good joke may purchase a sinner's passage to paradise, then it is time such a sect was founded.

I've often quoted, for example, the late Sir Brandon Rhys Williams (then MP for Kensington and Chelsea) who, on reading in his newspaper that Cynthia Payne's Streatham establishment offered food, drink and company, all-in for a set price, electrified the tearoom with his crackling remark: "Four-course meal, and wine, and a woman, all for £25? The wine can't be up to much." Brandon had many virtues to deliver him to the other side; but this remark alone would have sufficed.

Then there was Lord Hailsham, hobbling painfully behind me down a long Westminster corridor. I held open the swing door for him. He took ages to

reach it. He apologised. I said: "What you lose in speed, sir, you gain in dignity."

Hailsham paused, glared at me, and said: "I don't think that anyone has ever called me dignified, thank God." And he hobbled off. Doubtless a saint, it would matter little to me if Lord Hailsham had been a sinner: he should go to paradise for that remark alone.

There, along with (one day) Edward du Cann and (already) Brandon Rhys Williams, he will eventually meet Dennis Skinner, who more than a decade ago eyed the rotund Tory, Reginald Maudling, at the dispatch box lamenting the fact that it took "a British worker three days to build a motor car, whereas his German equivalent can do it in a day and three-quarters."

"An' 'ow long would it tek you, fats?" called Skinner. And all the trumpets sounded on the other side.

Blowing one of these trumpets will be Sid Vicious. Vicious is certainly still a punk, but a celestial one despite his life of boorishness, bad music and being sick on people. He gets the heavenly ticket for recording Sinatra's *My Way* interlaced with the most obscene language imaginable and backed on the vocals by Ronald Biggs.

At first Sid will be lonely: but he has the company of Screaming Lord Sutch to look forward to. Some years ago, Sutch put the best question of the 20th century: "Why is there only one monopolies commission?"

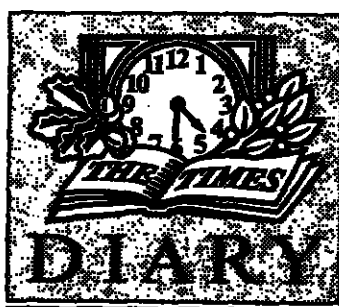
Lenin's body to spin?

MUSCOVITES delighted in dismantling the statue of Felix Dzerzhinsky, founder of the KGB, but now that President Gorbachev has abandoned the Communist party, how safe is the greatest icon of all, Lenin's mausoleum? Geoffrey Hosking, professor of Russian history at London University, says the days of the granite building in Red Square, which houses the "remains", could well be numbered.

But with thousands of communists thronging to the mausoleum yesterday, how can the body be removed without convincing diehards that anarchy really has engulfed Russia? Hosking says: "Lenin wanted to be buried next to his mother, so that could be used as an excuse."

It took five years after Khrushchev's 1956 speech denouncing his predecessor for the remains of Stalin to be demoted from the mausoleum to a reburial under the Kremlin wall. In the current climate it is hard to imagine people filing past Lenin's body in Red Square in five years' time.

The preservation of Lenin's body has been difficult. When a Moscow intellectual said in 1989 that the mausoleum should be turned into a general pantheon, Lenin's niece, Olga Ulyanova, said the idea was sacrilegious. But even she had to admit that the preservatives used were primitive. So ineffective were they that rumour has it some of Lenin's organs are no longer there. His brain certainly never rejoined his embalmed body. In one of communism's more nutty moments it was taken after his death in 1924 to the Institute of the Brain, to discover the secret of his genius. But it is not just dutiful com-



munists who will be disappointed if the mausoleum goes. A long line of literary figures has filed past, and George Bernard Shaw declared Lenin looked: "A pure intellectual type, that is the true aristocracy." One thing might console the old guard: if Lenin does join his mother's remains outside Leningrad, Red Square's name should be safe. That was its pre-revolutionary title.

● If President Gorbachev is serious about a new political group to replace the Communist party, a name is surely already at hand. Three-quarters of a century on, will the mensheviks emerge triumphant from the dark shadow of bolshevism?

Diplomatic coup

HOW LONG can the headline Soviet ambassador to London hold out? Follow diplomats at the embassy as they step up pressure to have Leonid Zamyatin removed after his ambiguous — or diplomatically dextrous — behaviour during the coup.

Zamyatin is one of the great survivors, whose close association with Brezhnev, as his press spokesman, did little to harm his later career. In 1981 he came out with the memorable comment that "material prosperity" was higher in the Soviet Union than in

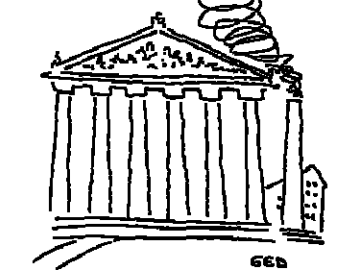
Britain. A few months later, he blamed unrest in Poland on Western interference. But it was his performance over the shooting down of the Korean airliner by a Soviet jet in 1983 which illustrated his cynical love of the old ways. After the jet was downed, Zamyatin insisted it had "continued its flight towards the Sea of Japan".

He adapted to Gorbachev's new ways, but for all his chameleon-like qualities he kept his bleak sense of humour. In 1988 Zamyatin maintained there were only 11 political prisoners in the Soviet Union.

His passions are watching Russian football matches and going for solitary walks along the coast. He could be indulging in them rather sooner than he thought.

Briton bearing gifts

ATHENS, perturbed that it is losing out in the tourist trade to the more worldly pleasures of sun, sand, sea and ouzo on the Greek islands, has turned to an unlikely



source for advice on how to burnish its image. Next month Mike Cowlam, Bradford city council's marketing manager, flies to the town to become "an international tourist attraction".

Really? Yes, says Cowlam, who insists that he, at least, was not surprised by his invitation. "Bradford has a world-wide reputation for tourism," he says. And just what does the Yorkshire textile town have to match the splendour of the Parthenon? Not much, it must be admitted. But if it can successfully market the dark satanic mills, selling the cradle of civilisation should be child's play.

● Anyone planning to take youngsters to the big top over the holiday might ponder a question: dividing the world of jugglers, clowns and acrobats: when is a circus not a circus? The Circus Friends Association says this is when there are no animals, and it is banning non-animal troupes from its ranks. The RSPCA is not amused.

Truculent priest

WHILE the question of women priests has dominated the Church of England synod, its political impact has been less marked. Until now, that is, with the news that an Anglican priest, formerly a staunch Tory, has quit his diocese to become constituency agent to Frank Dobson, Labour's shadow energy minister, in protest at the church's refusal to ordain women.

The Rev Chris Bryant has walked out of his post as the Peterborough diocesan youth officer without even telling his bishop. "I left out of frustration because the women ordained with me are still not priests. The church's inability to change depressed me."

Bryant, aged 29, a former curate at High Wycombe, has not ruled out a return to the pulpit, but is enjoying his new role, particularly the chance to show the occasional burst of temper at perceived injustices. "It doesn't matter now, whereas in the church people were always saying: 'Oh stop being such an angry young man.'"



RUSSIAN RECONSTRUCTION

After the counter-revolution come the questions. Will the humiliation of Mikhail Gorbachev really promote stability amid reform in the Soviet Union? As Boris Yeltsin moves to take over the levers of Soviet power in the name of the Russian republic, is there a danger of a new Russian imperialism emerging? Might a Soviet Union with its military might, but shattered into a multiplicity of republics, not destabilise international relations? Will Mr Yeltsin's democratic credentials wear thin as the Soviet Union plunges into economic anarchy?

To most of these questions, only time can offer answers. But Mr Yeltsin is entitled to the credit of his actions so far. Political legitimacy is vital for stability and Mr Yeltsin has shown himself fully aware of it. He has based his authority firmly on the Russian parliament, bolstering it by direct elections only two months ago. But there is more to legitimacy than democratic elections. There is the rule of law. After 1861, the Tsarist empire created a model legal system, but frequently abandoned it to autocracy and martial law. The revolution of 1917 supposedly established similar human rights, but to scant effect. Under Mr Gorbachev, some limits on state power were introduced, but by largely exempting the party and the KGB, Mr Gorbachev negated the advance of civil liberty.

The rule of law in the Soviet Union could always be circumvented by presidential decree. Presidential decrees have been pouring forth from Mr Yeltsin's office since last Thursday, many of them of drastic import. Once new democratic structures are in place, Mr Yeltsin should resort to rule by decree sparingly, if at all. He will have to carry unpopular legislation through the Russian parliament in order to create the conditions for a market economy. Many of those who now support him will accuse him of betrayal and he will be tempted to brush the legislature aside. His counterparts in Eastern Europe, Lech Walesa and Vaclav Havel, have not so far yielded to that temptation, but the roots of constitutionalism in Russia are shallower — and the temptation will be greater.

The passive mentality of political life under a totalitarian state will not vanish overnight. There remains in Russia an older, anti-western brand of nationalism, well represented by writers such as Dostoyevsky and Solzhenitsyn. Such emotions could well be a rallying point for Russians who, like the East Germans, may come to find the fruits of capitalism as bitter as they did those of communism. The ecstasy of collective freedom can soon turn sour in unemployment and personal failure. The way is then open for leaders offering simpler solutions than any offered by the West. The authoritarianism of the Communist party may be dead, but authoritarianism itself could be merely asleep.

By his conduct so far, Mr Yeltsin has done nothing to warrant doubts about his constitutional credentials. On the contrary, the funeral of the three young men killed in the coup was a moving symbol of Christian and Jewish reconciliation. Jews who feared for their lives when the coup was announced now feel safer. Mr Yeltsin's blitzkrieg against the Communist party would have been justified even if its leadership had not supported the coup. To have tolerated the continuation of a state within a state would have left Russia as a second Weimar.

Now that Mr Gorbachev has, however reluctantly, broken with the party, it will be easier to purge the apparatus, the KGB and even the armed forces. In many cases Soviet institutions overlap so closely with their Russian shadows that it will be possible to absorb the former's functions, and reliable officials, into the new Russian administration. But the demise of the Soviet state will mean a prolonged period of confusion over the division of responsibilities and property between the republics. Never can so much wealth have had to be redistributed to so many people in conditions of such upheaval.

Russia's sheer size is a source of anxiety for its neighbours, and Mr Yeltsin's readiness to recognize any republic which wants to leave the Union will not be enough to reassure them. In each of the republics the communist tradition will die in a different way. In Ukraine, where deputies have voted for independence, party chiefs are still in place. Elsewhere, the presence of Russian troops or Russian minority communities will be enough to give Russian nationalism cause for bitterness should economic pain cause communal strife.

At such moments, there is a need for points of continuity even amid the change. Mr Gorbachev is now plainly a broken force, a puppet of events as well as of Mr Yeltsin's Russian leadership. But his international reputation makes him a suitable figurehead during this transitional period. He may have shown himself reluctant to break with the communist past, but then Mr Yeltsin too is a former communist as are plenty of his advisers. Even Sakharov, the patron saint of this revolution, had once served the system he did so much to undermine. Most members of the intelligentsia, Mr Yeltsin's loyal power base, belonged to the party. As all revolutionary societies have found, the line between purging the spirit of past evil and finding stability in forgiveness will prove hard to draw.

The danger that old habits of thought will die hard even within the emerging elite cannot be discounted. In the past year there have been many disputes within the Yeltsin camp over economic policy. The political and ethnic heterogeneity of the Russian federation may cause parties to divide according to communal allegiance rather than political persuasion. The history of the Russian empire is one of volatile dialectic between westerners and easterners.

The radicals who are now in control in Moscow talk constantly about the pre-communist era, pre-1917. But prior to that decisive event were many upheavals, intended to yield a transition to constitutional government. This transition proved tragically abortive. Khrushchev's provisional government was neither appointed by the parliament nor was responsible to it and was overthrown by the Bolsheviks. The failure of this brief and incompetent experiment in liberalism made possible the utopian and disastrous dictatorship that ended last week.

The principles of today's August revolution are noble, and firmly based in the democratic legitimacy of the Russian parliament. But this legitimacy is about to be subjected to strains more intense than any now afflicting far more robust democratic institutions anywhere in the world. Mr Yeltsin has begun well. Russia and the other republics merit sympathy and support. If the world looks on in trepidation, it can also do so with hope.

RECOGNISING THE INEVITABLE

The momentous events engulfing the Soviet Union have removed the spotlight from Yugoslavia. What is happening east of the Adriatic is an awful warning of the dark forces that can be released by the collapse of an artificial federation, and the difficulties facing outside peacemakers once the momentum of communal hatred has developed.

The past weekend brought large-scale civil war in Yugoslavia closer. The scope for further intervention by EC foreign ministers is limited. They may feel the need to restate their position that "any change of internal and international borders by force is not acceptable, and any solution should guarantee the rights of peoples and minorities in all republics." They must wonder if anybody is still listening to their earnest platitudes.

Ceasefire after ceasefire, killing continues in Croatia. Each successive agreement reached by the federal presidency, whether to arrest the country's economic difficulties or to halt the bloodshed, seems to mean less than the last. In Vojvodina, the 400,000-strong Hungarian minority feels under threat from Serbia's leader, Slobodan Milosevic, and is looking across the border for protection. Bosnia-Herzegovina, where Muslims, Serbs and Croats have a long tradition of peaceful cohabitation, is becoming tense as its Serbs are seduced by Mr Milosevic's plans to divide the republic to "preserve Yugoslavia". To the south in Kosovo, Serbian persecution of the Albanian majority intensifies. Macedonia has announced a referendum on independence.

Well-meant Western European mediation has so far come to nothing. European Community observers have been under fire. The Conference for Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE), to which the EC turned earlier this month, is paralysed by its need for consensus. Yet the three elements of a settlement remain as the EC has defined them: a ceasefire, negotiations to disentangle the federation, and agreement on the forms of economic association between each republic to govern their future relations.

Experience suggests that these cannot be dealt with simultaneously. So far, the EC has concentrated on obtaining a ceasefire in Croatia. It has attempted economic leverage

in support of it. Clearly a ceasefire will not stick until there is an answer to the question: "After a ceasefire, what?"

So far EC resolve has been weakened by disagreement between its two most influential partners. Germany supports rapid moves to recognise an independent Slovenia and Croatia. France still wants to preserve some form of federation, fearing a preponderance of German influence in small successor states. Britain's best role could be to mediate within EC counsels, putting forward the obvious compromise: that the EC will recognise independent states as soon as they can decide the terms of their divorce, preferably by negotiation.

The EC carries economic and political weight in Yugoslavia. In the present atmosphere, it cannot hope to embark on a full peace-keeping role: keeping the peace implies that peace has broken out. But such mediation as can still be mounted should have no trouble in securing guarantees from Croatia and Slovenia that as independent states they would build safeguards for minorities into their constitutions, perhaps with outside monitoring. Protected Serb minorities would not then need to be absorbed into "greater Serbia" for their own safety. The way to cut the ground from under Mr Milosevic is by thus nullifying his exploitation of such Serbian fears. Meanwhile fear of a "greater Serbia" feeds separatism even in republics such as Bosnia-Herzegovina which would prefer to retain some Yugoslavian nationhood, albeit in a loose confederation.

There is no longer need for the West to worry, after last week, that a break-up of the federation would exacerbate Mr Gorbachev's difficulties in controlling his own centrifugal forces. The priority is to stop the killing. This can only be done if all sides are forced, with all the pressure that the world can muster, to see that the old model has failed and that independent states are now emerging in Yugoslavia, just as they are in the Soviet Union. Force can no longer hold Yugoslavia together. Britain and its Community partners must be ready to recognise the fragments of federation, starting with Slovenia.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

1 Pennington Street, London E1 9XN Telephone 071-782 5000

Problems with deer in Highlands

From Mr R. A. R. Stroyan

Sir, The report, "Conservation experts want 150,000 red deer culled" (August 17), gives a misleading impression of the situation, certainly in this part of the Highlands.

I am chairman of West Rossloch deer management group which, like many other such groups, which were not mentioned in the report, exists to manage stocks in its area.

Numbers have certainly not tripled as the report states. Deer are counted every February and such increase as has occurred has been contained by a cull of one in 6.8 stags and one in 4.9 hinds.

All estates in this area have a policy based on ordinary animal husbandry designed to preserve the better animals for stock and call the poorer ones, so many estates spare the best stags for breeding.

There have been no complaints to this group of deer destroying natural woodland, though of course some get into fenced plantations in the winter and have to be dealt with. Sheep numbers usually greatly exceed deer numbers in this area and any such damage should be equally or largely attributed to them.

Mr Kenny Taylor, of the Scottish Wildlife Trust, is quoted as asserting that deer at 15p per pound for venison are worth less than rabbits, so that they are not shot. An average game dealer's price for venison would now be 50p per pound, so even a small stag at 100lb dealers' carcass weight would be worth £50. Some rabbits!

Yours faithfully,
R. A. R. STROYAN,
Boreland, Killin, Perthshire.

From Mr A. J. de Nahlik

Sir, Your report about deer problems produced nothing new. Since Victorian days the males, the antler-bearing stags and bucks, were the main attraction of the sporting stalkers. Prior to the opening of the export market for venison in the 1960s few females were culled and the population grew out of control in spite of warnings.

Satisfied with the export market,

we have not seriously addressed the creation of an internal market for venison from wild deer, one of the healthiest fat-free meats. Now, with the bottom having fallen out of the export market, culls of the females will be even more difficult to enforce.

Warnings by the Red Deer Commission that without culling of deer hinds and even calves an "explosion" of population would take place have long gone largely unheeded because of the commission's lack of enforcement powers.

Yes, we have too many deer, not only red deer, we also have too many sheep on the hill, but it is not so everywhere. It is a gross exaggeration to say that "in a harsh winter 50,000 could starve within a couple of weeks", but it is true that a reduction of numbers in those many locations where there are excessive numbers would be in the interest not only of the habitat but also of deer.

Sincerely,
ANDREW DE NAHLIK,
5 Burdock Close,
Goodworth Clatford,
Andover, Hampshire.

From Dr J. R. A. Richards

Sir, In the article concerning the veniable plague of deer in the Highlands your reporter tantalised us with the one proper solution to the problem that any full-blooded ecologist should advocate. This is to reintroduce those long-lost predators, wolves, lynxes and bears.

Fear of a negative response from landowners should not deter those of us in the know from reminding the world that ecosystems cannot function without a proper balance between the land and its fauna.

Of course, the difficulties of reintroduction cannot be underestimated, but they have been addressed successfully elsewhere in the world and it is unforgivable that this obvious, natural solution to the deer problem is rarely debated in the UK.

Yours sincerely,
JAMES R. A. RICHARDS,
140a Doddington Road,
Lincoln.

Need to protect Mar Lodge estate

From Lord Hunt and Lord Chorley

Sir, Your report (August 14) of the setting up of the initiative of the Scottish secretary, Mr Ian Lang, to discuss the future of the Mar Lodge estate is most encouraging. The indications are that the government now accepts the need to protect this unique and important wilderness area by some form of public trusteeship. This will be warmly welcomed, and not just by mountaineers and conservationists in the UK.

The secretary of state must surely have been encouraged by the fact that conservation bodies have already promised £5 million — half the purchase price. Whether the Scottish Office will be able to match this pound for pound remains to be seen. We would like to suggest, however, that it would not be right to rely solely on "Scottish vote" money. The national and international importance of this area of the Cairngorms suggests surely that the funding should at least in part be

treated as a national matter.

In our opinion this is the most important "open space" heritage issue to arise in Scotland, and indeed in the UK, for many years. We need to show the world that this wonderful wilderness — 77,000 acres — our highest mountain massif (five of the UK's highest mountains) and with a unique and fragile ecology, has the protection it needs to become a world heritage site.

We also need to come to the aid of the Scottish Office in this endeavour. The government will soon be reporting to the nation on the first-year environmental progress since the publication of the white paper, *Our Common Inheritance*. What could be more appropriate to mark this birthday with an announcement that the Mar Lodge estate had been saved?

Yours truly,
JOHN HUNT,
ROGER CHORLEY,
House of Lords,
August 20.

A gift of tongues

From Professor John Taylor

Sir, Martin Jacques (article, August 21) is surely correct in saying that we in Britain need a new attitude towards the learning of other European languages. But would it necessarily be as difficult and expensive as he thinks to "rear a generation the majority of whom can speak at least one European language?"

One measure that could be taken immediately — and, I imagine, at no great cost — would be to ensure that, in television news programmes, interviews with people who do not speak English are broadcast in the original language with English subtitles. The current practice of letting us hear a few words from the speaker at the start and then quickly replacing that with a voice-over translation would seem to be a regrettable waste of a potentially important educational aid.

Chemistry exams

From Dr Iain Farrell

Sir, I believe your report (August 22) on GCSE exam results has overestimated the decline in chemistry examinations at A level which you reported on August 15. The 48 per cent fall in numbers is for candidates of the quite inappropriate AS-level examination in chemistry and demonstrates the common sense of chemistry teachers nationally in rejecting a poorly conceived examination. By contrast, the number of A-level chemistry candidates appears to have decreased by 3.8 per cent.

Despite the expressions of contentment with GCSE and AS level by government, the facts suggest that neither examination has achieved the objective of increasing the number of students studying science beyond the age of 16.

One urgent reform needed is to create examinations in science of an academic standard between those of GCSE and A level: either advanced GCSE or a "horizontal" AS suitable for the average lower-sixth or very bright fifth-form student. Targets which appear to be achievable and regular assessment of progress are important psychological supports which are lacking in the existing suite of public examinations.

Another action, already grudge-

Sinking feeling for boat-dwellers

From Mr and Mrs David Price

Sir, British Waterways' declaration of an amnesty for illegally moored houseboats (report and photograph, August 17, later editions), has led to confusion and anxiety among boat-dwellers. The invitation to register for those without official moorings is unlikely to work, in spite of an assurance that homes and personal belongings will not be impounded if people do so.

At the House of Lords select committee hearing on the British Waterways Bill in June BW made it clear it does not set it as its job to provide moorings for those who need them, but primarily that of the private sector. The fears are that those on the register will be offered a mooring in a private marina. Such moorings are expensive as there is no rent control or security of tenure, and as no national standards, particularly for fire precautions for such moorings exist they may be unsafe.

Living on a boat in a marina can be like living in a car park. Moorings at the side of the inland waterways are probably safer because boats are not placed side by side. They are certainly a part of the scene for walkers and summer boaters.

Those boat-dwellers who are anxious about entering the uncontrolled private sector will have to find a

home off the board's waters, according to the amnesty. At a time when homes to rent or buy on land are at a premium, those who have bought the roof over their heads should not be discouraged from sustaining it. Many boat-dwellers are pensioners who may be forced to add to the local authority waiting lists for scarce accommodation on land.

As landless owner-occupiers, boat-dwellers buy their homes without mortgage tax relief and maintain them, receiving no equivalent of home improvement grants. Drawing nothing from the public purse, the least we expect is a recognition that boat-dwelling is a bona fide way of life.

British Waterways should reappraise its duties as a landlord, and be properly and appropriately funded so it can act responsibly. It could work with the housing association movement to provide more safe, secure, affordable moorings for rent and could even form its own housing association to meet the needs of boat-dwellers on its waters.

Yours faithfully,
DAVID PRICE,
JANET PRICE,
Moonbeam, Coventry Canal
(Bedworth),
PO Box 99,
Coventry, West Midlands.
August 19.

Canal transport

From Mr Richard W. Evans

Sir, The absence of any mention of waterways transport in Ross Tienman's article on transport policy (Business, August 19) is regrettable, especially as there is a need to encourage goods off the roads.

Some of the old canals which link the Midlands and the North with the Thames could be expanded to take bulk and liquid cargoes and perhaps container traffic off the roads, with a massive rebuilding programme and injection of more funds into the British Waterways Board, especially by the modernisation of part of the Grand Union canal.

This development could also bring the under-utilised Thames into use again as a commercial, traffic artery, using ports in the

Thames estuary and providing a competitive alternative to the Channel tunnel. There would be the added ecological and other benefits of removing 40-ton lorries from our already crowded roads.

Alternatively, a huge inland transhipment "port" at a new country-based southern terminal of a modernised Grand Union canal adjacent to the west/east motorway link to Felixstowe and Harwich — or perhaps close to the projected eight-lane M25 — could be built. This would bring us nearer to the continental ideal of water links from the hinterland to major sea-ports.

Yours faithfully,
RICHARD W. EVANS,
The Squirrels, Harmer Dell,
Harmer Green Lane,
Welwyn, Hertfordshire.
August 19.

Coup aftermath

From Mr Geoffrey Smith

Sir, "Trust, but check" (Ronald Reagan's favourite) is not the only Russian proverb. More of a mouthful perhaps, though more immediately relevant is "Whoever drags up the past forfeits an eye, but whoever forgets it forfeits both eyes".

One need look back no more than five days to appreciate that Gorbachev has saved Yeltsin no less than Yeltsin Gorbachev.

Before the Russian parliament's White House was heroically defended in Moscow, the members of the junta were doomed by Gorbachev's refusal to cooperate with them in the Crimea. As the guns — or more probably needles — were pointing at his family as well as himself, some may regard his refusal as bravery verging on fanaticism. Whatever else may have come of his succumbing to their criminal methods, it is reasonable to think that Yeltsin would himself soon have become a primary target.

The fact that Gorbachev's heroism was not relayed by the world's television cameras should not diminish our plaudits. Recognition of his bravery is important in the present climate with its risk of old-world nationalism and anti-democratic populism.

Yours sincerely,
GEOFFREY SMITH,
University of London,
School of Slavonic and East European Studies,
Senate House, Malet Street, WC1,
August 23.

From Mr Peter Schofield Lawley

Sir, Before our politicians and friends at home and abroad fall over themselves in their efforts to congratulate each other, let us remember how and where this modern Russian revolution was won by its people — on the streets.

In those 60 hours I read only one report (August 20) of a British

politician "urging the Soviet people onto the streets in a show of strength for democracy". Whilst others carefully stopped short of those words, Margaret Thatcher continued: "Do not assume that this coup will be successful. The people have got used to democracy. I doubt whether they will give it up easily."

This lady's stature and instincts are undiminished whilst the fudged reactions of many others recall to mind the words of W. B. Yeats: "The best lack all conviction, while the worst are full of passionate intensity."

Yours sincerely,
PETER SCHOFIELD LAWLEY,
7 Wyndham Place, W1,
August 23.

From Mr Desmond J. McGuinness

Sir, Perhaps Roy Miles (August 22) should have spoken to Intourist holidaymakers before claiming that Intourist made "insensitive comments".

During the first 12 hours of the attempted coup, London staff managed to speak by telephone to some of our clients in Moscow, Leningrad and Yalta in an effort to ascertain their well-being on behalf of anxious relatives in the United Kingdom.

Arrangements were being made for the possible repatriation of tourists who by Monday were en route to Central Asia, the Black Sea or on board the Trans-Siberian railway, but happily, the difficult task we faced was aborted as news of the coup failure filtered through.

My comments concerned our clients on holiday in the Soviet Union and not the crowd at the international airport on Monday evening.

Yours faithfully,
DESMOND MCGUINNESS
(Sales Director),
Intourist Travel Limited,
Intourist House,
219 Marsh Wall, E14,
August 23.

He, ho, hum

From Mr N. R. MacNicol

Sir, Mr Philip Howard, in his article "Guilt about the..." (August 23), laudably points to the problems created by the feminists who deem the use of "he" and "him" to be inflexibly masculine when used as third person pronouns. He suggests "ho" and "hum" as neuter substitutes.

However, he overlooks, or chooses to ignore the usage by the "royals" of "one", "ones" and "onself". At least this seems good grammar. The problem is how one uses it without sounding as though oneself is a prat.

Yours faithfully,
NIGEL R. MACNICOL,
9 Church Lane,
Greatham, Ockham, Rutland.

From Mr David Martinson

Sir, Philip Howard is astonished that no language has invented a common-gender third-person pronoun.

Really? What about the French *on* and the German *man* (objectionable on sexist grounds no doubt)? One should be less dogmatic — or less easily astonished perhaps?

Yours faithfully,
DAVID MARTINSON,
Waterloo House,
20 Waterloo Street, Birmingham 2.

Letters to the editor should carry a daytime telephone number. They may be sent to a fax number — (071 782 5046).

Yours faithfully,
BARRY COLEMAN,
Boley Farm,
168 Riverway,
Christchurch, Dorset.

Letters to the editor should carry a daytime telephone number. They may be sent to a fax number — (071 782 5046).

Yours faithfully,
IAIN W. FARRELL,
The Chemistry Schools,
Harrow School,
Harrow on the Hill, Middlesex.
August 22.



COURT CIRCULAR

BALMORAL CASTLE
August 25: Divine Service was held in Crathie Parish Church this morning.

The Right Reverend William Macmillan (Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland) preached the sermon.

The Duke of Gloucester celebrates his birthday today.

Birthdays today

Sir Kenneth Barnes, civil servant, 69; the Right Rev Alan Chisholm, Bishop of Blackburn, 54; Mrs Joan Clancy, headmistress, North London Collegiate School, 52; Major-General N.L. Foster, 82; Viscount Gough, 50; Mr S.T. Graham, former chairman, International Commodities Clearing House, 70; Sir Ian McGregor, expert on tropical medicine, 69; Sir Hugh Parry, colonial administrator, 80; Mr Malcolm Pyrah, show jumper, 50; Miss Alison Steadman, actress, 45; General Sir Harry Tuzo, 74; Professor J.E. Varry, former principal, Westfield College, 69; the Right Rev Maurice Wood, former Bishop of Norwich, 75.

Marriage

Mr N.P.S. C. Enslie and Miss J.S. Hickey. The marriage took place on Saturday at the Church of the Sacred Heart, Merrimack, Australia, of Mr Nigel Enslie, youngest son of the late Mr and Mrs George Enslie, to Miss Justine Hickey, elder daughter of Sir Justin and Lady Hickey, of Queensland, Australia. Father: William Morris officiated.

The bride, who was given in marriage by her father, was attended by Miss E. Rossi and Miss B. Hickey. Mr Julian Mercer was best man.

A reception was held at the home of the bride and the honeymoon will be spent in Port Douglas, Queensland.

Forthcoming marriage

Mr A.Q. Stott and Miss N. Miles. The engagement is announced between Angus, younger son of Mr and Mrs John Stott, of Exton, Hampshire, and Nancy, younger daughter of Mr and Mrs Rupert Miles, of Llandello, Dyfed.

Archaeology

Danes search for lost city

From Christopher Follett in Copenhagen

DANISH archaeologists are unearthing the ruins of an impressive Roman settlement in the bleak Cape Drepanon area of Cyprus's wild and desolate Akamas peninsula, in the west of the island, near the tourist centre of Paphos.

The whole area is the site of an extensive Roman city which is only now being systematically explored. According to local legend, the bleak, largely uninhabited Akamas promontory, named after an Athenian hero of the Trojan war, is the site of the long-lost ancient royal city of Akamas, submerged offshore or covered in thick scrub, rocks and pine forest in what is the most inaccessible and unspoiled part of Cyprus.

The Danish dig, carried out by a team of archaeologists from the University of Aarhus, Denmark, started in 1989 and due to go into its third season next month, is the first Danish archaeological expedition to Cyprus, carried out in cooperation with the Nicosia-based Cyprus-American Archaeological Research Institute and funded in part by the Carlsberg Brewery Foundation.

The Danish team is concentrating its excavations on the ancient Hellenistic-Roman-Byzantine settlement of Ayios Konon, with a rebuilt church named after an early Christian martyr, situated at the western end of an important ancient trans-promontory road in an area with remains of a necropolis. Considerable pottery finds connect the Ayios Konon site, which lies about one mile inland, with a small harbour known as Tjioni or the "col-um", so-called for a marble stump of a mooring post which rises out of the sea.

Hundreds of submerged amphorae discovered in the harbour by divers last autumn point to the importance and size of the port and Roman township at Ayios Konon.

"The finds make it clear that the area was continuously inhabited from the late classi-

Anniversaries

BIRTHS: Robert Walpole, first Earl of Orford, statesman, Houghton, Norfolk, 1676; Joseph Michel Montgolfier, balloonist, Annonay, France, 1740; Antoine Lavoisier, chemist, Paris, 1743; Albert, Prince Consort, Schloss Rosenau, Germany, 1819; John Buchan, 1st Baron Tweedsmuir, governor-general of Canada, 1875-40; novelist, Perth, 1873; Christopher Isherwood, novelist, High Lane, Cheshire, 1904.

DEATHS: Louis-Philippe, King of the French 1830-48, Claremont, Surrey, 1850; Lon film actor, 1930; Frank Harris, writer, Nice, 1931; Ralph Vaughan Williams, composer, London, 1948; Paul Muni, actor, Hollywood, 1967; Sir Francis Chichester, circumnavigator of the world 1966-67, Plymouth, 1972; Charles Lindbergh, first to fly solo across the Atlantic non-stop (1927), 1974; Charles Boyer, actor, 1978.

Appointments
Mrs Joan Clancy, headmistress of the North London Collegiate School, to be a member of the National Curriculum Council.

Mrs Eileen Margaret Prevezar to be a full-time Chairman of Industrial Tribunals from September 2, assigned to the London (South) region. She replaces Mrs Valerie Cooney, who has transferred to the Leeds region.

Mrs Eve Martin, of Halifax, to be "Co-Chair" with Mrs Virginia Bottomley, MP, of the Women's National Commission, which advises the government on women's issues.

Memorial service
Mr Hardwick Nichols and Mrs Diana Birks. Prince Edward read the second lesson at a memorial service for Mr Hardwick Nichols and Mrs Diana Birks, held yesterday in the Chapel of Haddo House, Aberdeen, organised by the Haddo Players.

Canon Samuel Van Culin officiated and the Right Rev Alastair Haggart pronounced the blessing. Miss Gayle Hallon read the first lesson and Canon Van Culin and Mr Jeremy Lemmon paid tribute.

Admiral Sir William Pillar

Admiral Sir William Pillar has been appointed President of the Royal Naval Volunteer Reserve Officers' Association and the Naval Club, Mayfair, in succession to the late Admiral Sir Peter Stanford.

OBITUARIES

COLLEEN DEWHURST

Colleen Dewhurst, actress, died on August 22 aged 65. She was born in Montreal, Canada, on June 3, 1926.

DISTINGUISHED by her expressively robust face and low gravelly voice, Colleen Dewhurst was the American theatre's leading female interpreter of the works of Eugene O'Neill. Although she acted often in the plays of other dramatists, and appeared in films and on television as well, she is best remembered for illuminating the full spectrum of O'Neill women.

She made her Broadway debut in 1952 as a villager in a revival of O'Neill's *Desire under the Elms*, and it seems fitting that her last Broadway appearances, in 1988, were in repertoire productions of that playwright's *Ah, Wilderness* and *Long Day's Journey into Night*.

"I always say that I am not an O'Neill expert; I feel all I really know are his women," she said in an interview at the time. And know them she did. Watching her as Josie Hogan in *A Moon for the Misbegotten* in 1974, a performance for which she won the second of her two Tony awards, critics felt the amplitude of generosity and pain co-existing within O'Neill's farm girl heroine.

Playing Mary Tyrone (opposite Jason Robards as James Tyrone) in *Long Day's Journey into Night*, over a decade later, the actress revolutionised audiences' views of O'Neill's depiction of his own mother. Dewhurst's Mary was no sentimentalised drug addict but a woman shockingly close to Kenneth Tynan's description of the part as an "emotional vampire."

Other O'Neill credits included Sara in *More Stately Mansions* and Christine Mannon in *Mourning Becomes Electra*. In 1987 Dewhurst furthered the O'Neill connection by starring in Barbara Gelb's *My Gene*, a one-woman show about Carlotta Monterey, O'Neill's wife.

Born in Montreal the daughter of a hockey player, Dewhurst moved to Wisconsin with her mother after her parents' divorce when she was 13. She studied for two years at Downer College for young



With Jason Robards in *Long Day's Journey into Night*, New York, 1988

ladies in Milwaukee before moving to New York. In 1947, she married her first husband James Vickery, whom she divorced in 1959. She subsequently twice married and divorced the actor George C. Scott, by whom she had two sons, Campbell and Alexander. Campbell, himself an actor, played her on-stage son Edmund in the 1988 *Long Day's Journey*, and the two appear together in the current Julia Roberts film, *Dying Young*.

Away from O'Neill, Dewhurst successfully played

in Shakespeare and in three plays of Edward Albee, and she won her first Tony award in 1961 as Mary Follet in *All the Way Home*. In 1981 she made her Broadway directing debut with a new play, *Ned and Jack*.

President of the American Actors' Union, Equity, since 1985, Dewhurst caused a stir last year for objecting to the casting of British actor Jonathan Pryce as a Eurasian in the Broadway production of *Miss Saigon*. Critics pointed out that Dewhurst had herself played an Asian in a 1970

revival of Brecht's *The Good Woman of Setzuan*.

Her death diminishes further the number of genuine American actresses who see the stage as their natural home rather than as an occasional stop-over between more lucrative film and television jobs. Although Dewhurst's television acting won her three Emmy awards, including one for playing Candice Bergen's mother in *Murphy Brown*, she was that relatively rare thing in the world of American acting — a true woman of the theatre.

JOHN WOOD

John Bradshaw Wood, who was for many years deputy director of the Institute of Economic Affairs, died on August 21 aged 67. He was born on August 1, 1924.

JOHN Wood, economist and writer, did not confine himself to the "dismal science". Music, architecture, opera, the history of art — all intertwined in a life given to many interests and, above all, to the monetarist cause and economic liberalism.

He was born in Parbold, Lancashire, not far from Wigan. He was hardly an obvious Lancastrian, lacking the accent, but still having an inner resilience and warmth. His father was a solicitor and recorder. His musical interests derived from his mother, his younger brother, Hugh, becoming a notable composer.

He was educated at Oundle, at New College, Oxford (a war-time degree), and above all at post-war Cambridge, where the combined liberal influence of Robertson and Dennison was to prove decisive. His early training for what became his life's work at the Institute of Economic Affairs was remarkably extensive and impressive, ranging from the economic section of the War Cabinet Secretariat to *The Manchester Guardian*,

from the merchant bank Lazard's to Conservative Central Office and from being adviser to Lord Chandos at Associated Electrical Industries to being an election speech-writer for Anthony Eden.

He also found the time to write two short, simply written, books on company accounts and company taxation. He confessed he knew nothing about either at the time, but found out from those who did. One expert who was then at Lazard's and is now a former ambassador, still retains an admiration for his explanatory style.

It was in the mid-1950s that Wood found his spiritual economic home. He had met Ralph Harris (now Lord Harris of High Cross) at Cambridge and was quickly drawn into the liberal economic stream that Harris (and Arthur Seldon) were encouraging. The Institute of Economic Affairs was founded in 1957 and although John Wood became deputy director only in 1969 he was in spirit one of the founder-members alongside Harris and Seldon.

The Institute did not reflect the age. It was a reaction against the tide of the centrally-planned economy and its widespread acceptance in Britain, "Butskellism" sum-

ming up the then cross-party acceptance of "Whitehall knows best". Market economists were on the defensive and Wood and his colleagues at IEA began the uphill task of identifying through a continuous stream of publications (books, pamphlets, lectures), the way markets worked, how they could be used to maximise economic (and social) returns and where they should be tried next.

They laid the foundation stones for the liberal economic policies pursued two decades later in the 1980s and beyond. Wood naturally turned his early experience in the City to fruitful account, first in considering the City's international markets and what they were worth to the economy, secondly in querying why exchange controls were still needed. He was stung in the late 1950s by an academic assessment on Radio 3 of the City's foreign earnings which put them at little more than £30 million. He responded vigorously over the air, putting them at "at least £100 million" and persuaded William Clarke (then City Editor of *The Times*) to undertake a detailed analysis. The result was one of the first two books published by the new Institute of Economic Affairs, *The City's Invisible Earnings*. The

total was put at £125 million. Wood's instinct had been right.

Two decades later he found it both depressing and intellectually unacceptable that any normal Western economy should still need exchange controls. He wrote a vigorous pamphlet with Robert Miller, attacking the, as he thought, threadbare arguments of even the new Conservative government for their retention. *Exchange Controls Forever?* was published a matter of months before Geoffrey Howe as Chancellor abolished them.

Between these forays into City affairs Wood had immersed himself, both as administrator and author, at the IEA, producing a variety of publications under his own name: *How Much Unemployment?* (1972); *How Much Inequality?* (1974); and *What Price Unemployment?* (1982). He never lost sight of life's deeper pleasures. In his early days in London he developed into an accomplished French horn player. And his friends can still recall returning to his "barn" in Sussex from an evening at Glyndebourne, to find the conductor of the evening already preparing omelettes for John's guests. Wood was a bachelor.

Sidney Brichto

Education would strengthen the Jewish faith

CHRISTIAN missions to the Jews have always evoked a deep emotional reaction. As a child living in Philadelphia, I took this missionary zeal in my stride and with forbearance. It was an opportunity to receive a free Bible. Raised as an orthodox Jew, I would not have seen the New Testament until adulthood had it not been for this largesse.

Actually, it gave me a good feeling. I was the subject of anti-Semitism from the black and Irish children in our poor neighbourhood. Those who wanted me to accept their Saviour were interested in my salvation. This certainly was proof that they did not hate me because I was Jewish.

This view has not matured very much since my childhood. It will win me no popularity with my colleagues, but I do not accept the fact that Christianity has been the major source for anti-Semitism over the ages as a sufficient reason for sincere, if misguided, evangelists to ignore Jews in their mission to

redeem the world through Christ. It would be too great a demand to make particularly of those who believe that the second coming will not be realised until the conversion of the Jews.

As a child and even now, my own tolerance of these missionary activities must have been and is still the result of my total emotional security as a Jew. It never occurred to me that any Jew could be persuaded to give up the Judaism which gave meaning to my life for a faith whose symbolism was so foreign to my own. I could no more change my religion than I could alter my parenthood, and I assumed that this must be so for other Jews.

The anxiety over recent missionary successes must be due to a weakening of Jewish ties and the inability of Judaism to give spiritual succour to lost souls. Jews as well as others should condemn the attempt to achieve conversions through unfair emotional pressure or bribery not only to Christianity but to any

religion, cult or sect. But they should not cry foul when salvationist religions seek to do their task, which is to seek new adherents.

Of course, one must appreciate the disdain of Jews for their co-religionists who have bowed to the cross. They find it unacceptable, even a betrayal, that Jews whose ancestors had sacrificed their lives rather than to become Christians should turn their backs on their heritage in this way. This contempt, however, should not blind rabbis or communal leaders to the truth that the success of missionaries can only be due to their failure to meet the spiritual needs of those Jews who turn to another faith when their own fails them.

It is significant that the individual leading the campaign on behalf of the Jewish community against the mission to the Jews should be a rabbi from Lubavitch, a world-wide evangelical movement directed solely to lapsed Jews. Its inspiration is based on the near worship of its

leader, Rabbi Schneerson, who rules over his empire from Brooklyn, New York. As an expression of Judaism which has a special appeal to those people who have a desperate need for spiritual meaning and personal guidance, the Lubavitch will probably achieve more success in this counter missionary activity than will any other Jewish group. I wish them success.

The real danger to Judaism, however, is not the mission to the Jews but the assimilation into secularism of those Jews for whom Judaism has lost its relevance. The trauma of the holocaust has played some part in this as it has led to the loss of faith in God among many Jews. However, the successful struggle for national independence after centuries of subjugation and the instinctive determination not to give Hitler a posthumous victory has continued to motivate Jewish loyalty among non-believing Jews. Nevertheless, the weakening of re-

ligious faith and the appreciation of the Jewish ethos through lack of education among the majority of the Jews, must make Jewish assimilation into a tolerant and prosperous society difficult to resist.

Of course, it is easier to focus attention on the attempts to win Jewish souls for Christianity than to take on the far greater problem of assimilation through ignorance and apathy. The Jewish leadership would be better advised to concentrate their financial resources on enlarging the opportunity for Jewish education, and an understanding of Jewish values. To keep Jews within the fold, the best and most creative Jewish minds should come together to make the ancient faith of Judaism relevant to the vicissitudes of modern life. The results from achieving this would more than compensate for the loss of a few Jews to a daughter faith.

Rabbi Dr Sidney Brichto is executive vice-president, Union of Liberal and Progressive Synagogues

MARSHAL SERGEI AKHROMEYEV.

Marshal Sergei Akhromeyev, chief of the general staff of the Soviet armed forces from 1984 to 1988 and a special adviser on military affairs to President Gorbachev, committed suicide on August 24 aged 68. He was born in 1923.

THOUGH the death of Sergei Akhromeyev followed in the wake of the abortive coup against President Gorbachev and the suicide on August 22 of Major-General Boris Pugo, one of the conspirators, Akhromeyev is not known to have been connected with the coup attempt himself. Indeed, only a few months ago he had publicly, in a video symposium connecting Moscow and Paris, given the lie in most robust terms, to any suggestion that the Soviet army would ever present a threat to the process of reform in the country. None of this could, however, disguise the deep disquiet that a professional soldier such as Akhromeyev clearly felt about the effects of the current political process in the Soviet Union on the strength of the armed forces and on their influence in Soviet life.

He had himself retired as armed forces chief of staff in 1988 for "health reasons" on the very day President Gorbachev announced huge reductions in the strength of the Soviet army. And though he continued as a "special adviser" to Gorbachev thereafter, it was evident that he viewed the weakening of Soviet military might and the disorder within the USSR with profound anxiety. Ironically, the man chosen by Gorbachev to replace him as chief of staff at that time, General Mikhail Moiseyev, has himself been dismissed by Gorbachev in the aftermath of the failed coup.

Sergei Fyodorovich Akhromeyev was one of that now shrinking band of serving officers who had had direct experience in combat in the second world war. An ethnic Russian and the son of a peasant farmer, he had come up the hard way, joining the Red Army in the ranks at the age of 17 in 1940. With the launching of Operation Barbarossa, the German invasion of the Soviet Union, in the summer of the following year he soon got the chance to display his leadership qualities and, as a cadet, fought with the Soviet armies at Leningrad in 1941, in the first winter of the desperate 900-day siege.

In the post-war period Akhromeyev moved up the promotion ladder to field rank, and became increasingly identified as an authority on arms control. He was abruptly propelled to the top job in the Soviet armed forces when, to the surprise of outside commentators, the abrasive but immensely capable Marshal Nikolai Ogarkov was removed as chief of the general staff in September 1984. Al-

though he always liked to portray himself as the "simple soldier" type — on a visit to the United States in July 1988, the first by such a senior Soviet military figure, he described himself as the "Last of the Mohicans".

Akhromeyev had a shrewd grasp of strategic matters and his views were always taken seriously in the Soviet military circles, especially as the Gorbachev era gathered momentum and the often conflicting signals from Soviet military circles became difficult to interpret. Thus, although progressive in terms of the most hidebound traditions of the Red Army and a powerful force for reform within its reactionary ranks, Akhromeyev made very clear to NATO's strategists what his interpretation of glasnost meant in terms of detailing the relative military strengths of the alliances when he gave the Olof Palme memorial lecture in Stockholm in September 1988. On that occasion he strongly attacked NATO, and in particular the United States, for trying to remove naval forces from the NATO/Warsaw pact equation of total military power. On that occasion western analysts wryly observed that no warship under 4,000 tons appeared in the Soviet vessel count of its own navy.

But Akhromeyev was not far from the end of his own tenure of the post of armed forces chief. Barely three months later, on December 7, on the eve of President Gorbachev's announcement of plans to cut the Soviet armed forces by half a million men, he resigned. President Gorbachev appointed him as his personal military adviser. In this post, though publicly remaining loyal to President Gorbachev's policy of troop cuts, he made it clear that the Soviet army should remain loyal to the Communist party, the instrument of the victory over Hitler in 1941-45, in spite of the reevaluation of Stalin.

As recently as June this year he had attacked radical generals of the younger school as "anti-communist". Though deprecating any idea that the army might rise against President Gorbachev he had warned the Soviet president on a number of occasions that he was in danger of losing its support.



DAVID PRING

Sir Edward du Cane writes:

YOUR obituary of David Pring briefly mentions his clerkship of committees with its oversight of all the select committees of the House of Commons. I was the first chairman of the all party select committee on treasury and civil service affairs and also of the liaison committee, whose membership was the chairman of all the other select committees. David and I worked closely together in planning the establishment of the new departmentally related select committees in 1979.

Departmentally related select committees have brought a new dimension to

Parliament's work. MPs have taken great advantage of the opportunity to cross question ministers, civil servants and experts about policy alternatives, competent administration, value for money and the like. The appointment of specialist advisers has meant that their work has been well informed and effective — all the better, perhaps, for being conducted in a quiet atmosphere away from the party political row which is too often the norm on the floor of the House.

Those of us who worked with David Pring will never forget the part he played in ensuring that this revolution was accomplished happily, smoothly and effectively.



Old news as an artform: Gary Cormack with his newspaper sculpture hanging like the inside of a beehive from the roof of the South Square Gallery in Bradford, West Yorkshire. The tabloid press has been excluded as unsuitable, only serious broadsheet journals have been utilised by the artist

Nature notes

THE first robins are singing again, as they take up their autumn territories. This autumn song is thinner and less varied than the spring song, which begins at the end of December. As well as the males, some females are now establishing territories, but they will abandon them and join up with a male in the new year.

Migration is getting under way more briskly, with greenbacks and curlew-sandpipers pressing south along both coasts. Buzzards are occasionally seen now on the east coast: some have come down from British hillsides, others have drifted across the North Sea. Inland, wheatears and wrynecks are turning up in unexpected places.

Trees are still very green - unlike last year, when there were many brown or yellow patches of leaves by the end of August. On roadside verges in the south, the lilac flowers of common calamint are in bloom: they send waves of scent across the main streets of some leafy villages.

There are cascades of ivy-leaved toadflax in London basement areas. Wasps are becoming more numerous: most of them are workers which will quickly die, leaving only a few fertilised queens to survive the winter.



BUZZARD

DJM

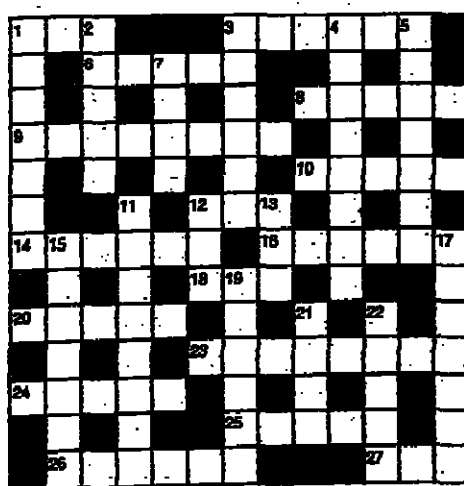
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DEATHS

EVANS - On August 22nd, 1991, peacefully after a long illness, David Evans, aged 55, of 10, Maple Road, London, N10 1AB. He was the husband of Margaret Evans, nee Jones. He is survived by his wife, Margaret, and his children, David and John. He was a member of the Methodist Church. He was cremated at Golders Green Crematorium on August 24th, 1991. Friends are invited to a service at 10.30 am on August 28th, 1991, at the Methodist Church, 10, Maple Road, London, N10 1AB. The family will be receiving friends at home from 2.00 pm to 4.00 pm on August 28th, 1991, at 10, Maple Road, London, N10 1AB.

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IN MEMORIAM - PRIVATE

HILL, Edward - 1908. Remembered with love and affection by his wife, Margaret Hill, nee Jones. He was the husband of Margaret Hill, nee Jones. He is survived by his wife, Margaret, and his children, David and John. He was a member of the Methodist Church. He was cremated at Golders Green Crematorium on August 24th, 1991. Friends are invited to a service at 10.30 am on August 28th, 1991, at the Methodist Church, 10, Maple Road, London, N10 1AB. The family will be receiving friends at home from 2.00 pm to 4.00 pm on August 28th, 1991, at 10, Maple Road, London, N10 1AB.

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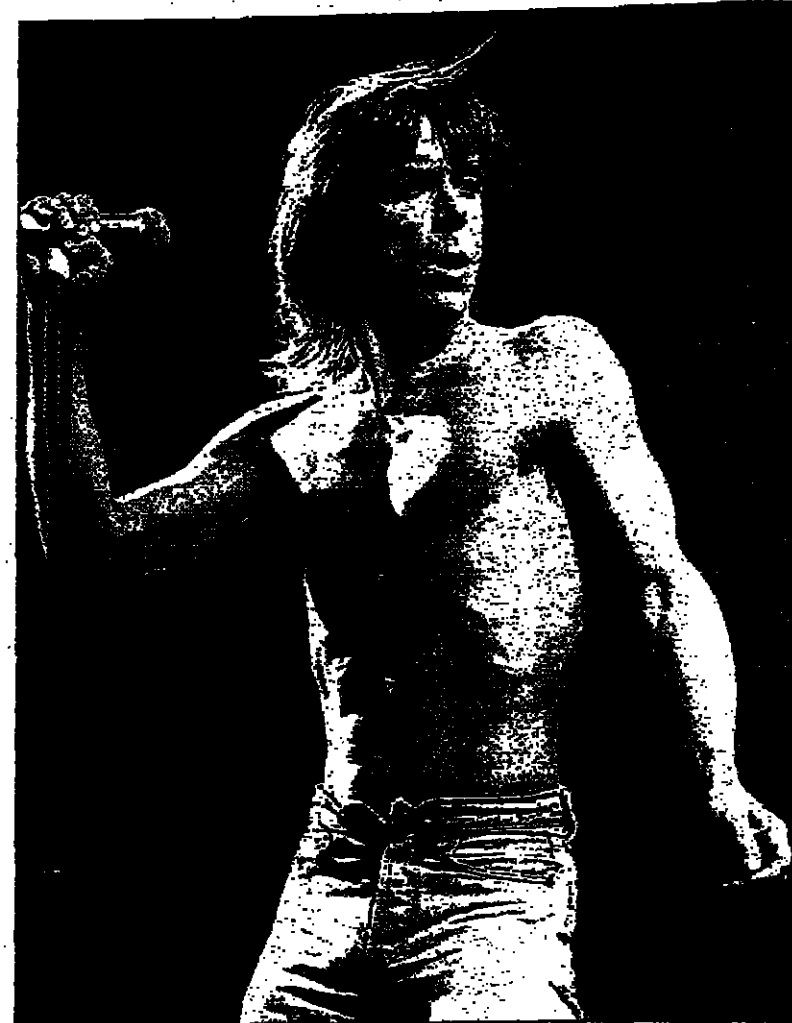
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The last authentic showman

JULIAN HERBERT



Reaching out to the fans: Iggy Pop at the Reading Festival

Iggy Pop and others
Reading Festival

DO NOT be surprised if, in the coming weeks, scientists discover a hole in the ozone layer directly above Berkshire. They will not have to look far for an explanation: the culprits were the fans at the Reading Festival who warmed themselves in front of camp fires fuelled by an endless supply of fast food containers.

As the moon shone down on Saturday, the scene resembled the first night at Glastonbury. Some of the participants were huddled around the flames; others were prostrate on the damp grass, the apparent victims of "Snakebites", that lethal beer-tent speciality of half a pint of lager mixed with a half of cider. Welcome to Reading '91.

The first two days were, in fact, uneventful compared with some of the legendary excesses of the past. In the old days the event was notorious as the ultimate meathead convention, where heavy metal bands and anybody else foolish enough to venture onto the stage would be met with a barrage of laser-guided beer bottles. Now, under the direction of the Harpenden-based venue The Mean Fiddler, the emphasis has shifted towards the more introspective charms of the "indie" labels.

Fans of the John Peel radio show will argue that this is a major step forward. That may be true. The trouble with many of the new groups

is that they offer little in the way of spectacle. The cute, jangly guitar riffs are imposing enough on the radio, but they sound increasingly drab and anonymous in the great outdoors. Bands such as James, the main attraction on Saturday, had a slightly forlorn air about them. Iggy Pop, who topped the bill on Friday, met with more success. Here, at least, was a showman who could reach out beyond the fifth row. Riding on the acclaim for the album, *Brick by Brick*, he was his usual magnificently inept self.

The best place to be was the Mean Fiddler marquee. Tucked away in the far corner of the arena, it provided a refuge for the folkier elements. On Friday this was the setting for the nostalgic Country and Western tunes of the American singer-songwriters Guy Clark and Townes Van Zandt. Maudlin and lugubrious, the songs had all the authentic, leathery smell of down-home Texas.

Meanwhile, the various stallholders were doing a reasonable trade in imitation skulls, aromatherapy manuals and Labour Party literature. Deprived of the opportunity to watch rock legends bite the heads off chickens, the fans could while away the hours by gnawing on vegan chilli-burgers. Humour of sorts was on offer at the Comedy Big Top, under which a string of stand-up comics competed against the background noise of the groups on the main stage. I am happy to report that the routine of the obnoxious Gerry Sandowicz was virtually inaudible. Deafening music has its virtues after all.

CLIVE DAVIS

Christmas Eve
Playhouse

BY A twist of fate not untypical of this past week's events, the Bolshoi Opera in Edinburgh presented Rimsky-Korsakov's Ukrainian folk-opera, *Christmas Eve*, on the very day on which the Ukrainian parliament voted for independence.

Alexander Titel's new production, first planned as a Christmas present to Moscow in 1990, turned into a fiesta of celebration.

This is, in any case, a production which makes the most of location. Gogol's *Evenings on a farm near Dikanka* provided Rimsky-Korsakov with his source material: the region itself, its puppet theatre and folk parables had obviously been studied closely by Titel and his designer Valery Leventhal. Tiny villages circled the snowy set (had Leventhal sneaked a glimpse of David Pountney's production at English National Opera?), an outrageously home-made cow, rife from milking and cleaving, was tipped, mopped and moved its way through Oksana's first aria. Kolyada and Ovsen, the good spirits who come with the Christmas dawn, appeared at the end of a *Tempest*-like masque of rebirth, riding their cow and bear on wheels: the Green Man and Woman of the Ukraine.

This, though, is an opera as of Gogol's description of the night flight of Vakula the blacksmith to obtain the silver slippers for his beloved, gave

Rimsky-Korsakov the mandate to mingle Hoffmannesque supernatural fantasy into his folk tale, and Leventhal responded to its demands with the mystic cosmology of a Proust and Sue Bane, but with an inexhaustible supply of backdrops and gauzes in every magical mode of Russian storybook naïveté. The front curtain was uniquely beautiful: a sturdy, snowy village uplifted by a firmament of meteor showers, flowers and everything in between. Chagall would have loved it all.

This Edinburgh audience certainly did. A delegation from the ballet appeared for the star and demon dances, and a vast chorus (unnecessarily amplified when off stage) thronged and tumbled in full national dress. A tongue-in-cheek pantomime court was set up for the Tsarina, with characters from the ballet *The Triumph of Catherine the Great*.

This *Christmas Eve* had it all. All that, except orchestral playing which could truly equal the production in energy and imagination. It was well - relaxed in the extreme, a mere shadow compared with the cast of solidly three-dimensional voices. There were far too many villagers, witches and wizards to name, but particularly fine performances were given by Oleg Biktimirov's vocally athletic Devil, Paolo Kudrivchenko's hammer and tongs of a blacksmith tenor, and Ekaterina Kudrivchenko's spirited, sweet-voiced and sensitively musical Oksana. For this show alone, it was worth keeping the Bolshoi from Moscow, where many of them, I gather, would gladly have been.

HILARY FINCH

Dave McKenna
Pizza on the Park

A PIANO player has a world of sound available which must be the envy of other instrumental soloists. In the hands of a master, such as Dave McKenna, rhythm sections and counterpoints can be conjured from the keys, while the almost infinitely variable tonal colours and dynamics can evoke any mood, from the mesmeric to the manic. McKenna's

technical command is complete, and is at the service of a lyrical imagination, sensitivity, intelligence and a playful sense of humour.

On a sultry evening, the second night of his week-long residency, the music was not at first perfectly in keeping: rambling, rather than relaxed. In "World on a String", the fugal left-hand bass which had propelled the motion of the first selection became more like a tethering point, around which McKenna led the tune in subtly varied circles.

Over the Rainbow" the mood stayed languid, the left-hand strumming, as though Kansas had migrated

A Dybbuk for Two
People/An Evening with
Gary Lineker
Assembly Rooms

THE Fringe has not yet been entirely taken over by revue, cabaret and stand-up comedians, despite suggestions to the contrary, although the shows that slot into these three categories do fill three-and-a-half tightly printed columns (80 names to a column) in the Fringe programme. This compares with just under five columns headed "Theatre", although "Drama" would define their contents less loosely, and a number of the entries duplicate each other. There are five *Antigones*, five *Macbeths*, and three shows devoted to the life of Zelda Fitzgerald, spouse of the more famous Scott.

At the Assembly Rooms the categories have almost drawn level. "Theatre" leading "Comedy/Cabaret" by 24 to 23. Benedict Nightingale has already reviewed several of the plays staged in this maze of rooms and here are a couple more: two 80-minute pieces that could scarcely be more different in mood but are staged in the same space.

A Dybbuk for Two People compresses the celebrated Yiddish drama into a two-hander for Bruce Myers, the Peter Brook stalwart, and Corinne Jaber. It is the warning tale of a poor student whose betrothed is to be married instead to a rich man's son; when the student dies of grief, his lost soul enters the girl's body as a "dybbuk" and, once installed there, it

causes her severe identity problems. The Dybbuk is nowadays seldom, if ever, performed in English, and our assessment of the work derives from highly stylised, visiting productions from Israel and Poland. If nothing else, this staging by Myers of his own version provides a key to the changing tone within the play as he takes on the characters of the intense student dabbling in arcane learning; the self-satisfied father; the old grandmother clambering across dining-room chairs representing the road to the cemetery (a superb little scene); and the ancient Rabbi leaning on his cane.

Obsession, complacency, doddering fondness and angry wisdom are conveyed in turn through Myers' deep voice; resonant, measured like that of a teacher explaining some mystery he loves, but able to rise to a husky and passionate cry.

An Evening with Gary Lineker tells of a different obsession: football and the fortunes of the English team in last year's World Cup. The authors, Arthur Smith and Chris England, tie in the ludicrous single-mindedness of the men-folk with a wife's fantasy friendship with the hero of the title. The dramatic structure wobbles, but the jokes are good. A true fan will describe everything in football terms, saying farewell to his girlfriend he will say, "We've played some great games tonight. Really entertaining fixtures." A specially hairy touch: the vision of the Pope running on to the ground at Turin to forgive Paul Gascoigne for his foul ("Three Paul Marys"). It is directed by Audrey Cooke and pleasantly acted by a cast of five and the shadow of Lineker.

JEREMY KINGSTON

NEW RELEASES

◆ **SCARFISH** (12): Shallow, boisterous parody of America's soap operas, with good moments. Starring Sally Field, Kevin Kline, Robert Downey Jr., Elizabeth Shue. Director: Michael Hoffman. Cast: Baker Street (071-825 9772) Fulham Road (071-370 2636) Tottenham Court Road (071-436 8148) Plaza (071-437 6539) Whiteley (071-732 3334).

◆ **YOUNG SOUL REBELS** (18): Seductively shot but unwieldy stew of soul music, murder mystery, racial and social politics, set in Jubilee Britain, 1977. A first mainstream feature for director Isaac Julien. Cannon Oxford Street (071-638 0310) Metro (071-437 0757) Screen on the Green (071-226 3232).

CURRENT

◆ **AFTER DARK, MY SWEET** (18): Tormented drifter (Jason Patric) wanders into a kidnapping plot. Atmospheric thriller from an Am. Thompson novel which survives its flawed director, James Foley. Gate (071-727 4048).

◆ **CHERNOBYL** (12): Reveal of Chernobyl's 1986 nuclear accident, atmospheric, a good sense of tragedy. Cannon Oxford Street (071-638 0310) Warner (071-437 0757).

◆ **EDWARD SCISSORHANDS** (PG): Tim Burton's capricious fantasy about a boy with scissors for hands as large as American suburbs. With Johnny Depp, Geena Davis, Vincent D'Onofrio. Cannon Parkway (071-267 7034) Cannon Chelsea (071-432 5036) Haymarket (071-432 5827) Tottenham Court Road (071-436 8148) Screen on the Green (071-226 3232) Plaza (071-437 0757) Whiteley (071-732 3334).

◆ **ELVIRA MADIGAN** (PG): Bo Woberg's 1987 classic about an army officer's summer idyll with a circus girl. Vacuum as drama, but a mistake in dramatic pretensions. Curzon Phoenix (071-240 9881).

CINEMA GUIDE

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◆ **TERMINATOR 2: JUDGMENT DAY** (18): Good robot Arnold Schwarzenegger battles bad robot Robert Patrick. A fine showcase for special effects. But the humans get short shrift. Director, James Cameron. Cannon Parkway (071-267 7034) Cannon Chelsea (071-432 5036) Haymarket (071-432 5827) Tottenham Court Road (071-436 8148) Screen on the Green (071-226 3232) Plaza (071-437 0757) Whiteley (071-732 3334).

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CHANNEL:

6.00 **The Channel 4 Daily**
9.25 **Gert and Daisy's Weekend** (1941, b/w). Elsie and Doris Waters and cockeyed sisters Gert and Daisy are put in charge of a bunch of rowdy second world war men when they take over a deserted period place, which preserves a much-loved comedy double act. Directed by Muelton Rogers
10.55 **Film: Frenchman's Creek** (1944). Romantic swashbuckler based on the novel by Daphne du Maurier. A married 17th century noblewoman falls in love with a dashing French pirate. Starring Joan Fontaine and Basil Rathbone. Directed by Mitchell Lelen
1.00 **Sesame Street**. Pre-school learning series. Today's guests are Dennis Washington and Carol Carner
2.00 **The Gardens Club meets** (double). Members in Harford and finds out how to irrigate a small garden. Presented by Roy Lancaster, Matthew Biggs and Rebecca Pow
2.25 **Channel 4 Racing from Sandown Park**. Brought Scott introduces the Bank Holiday line-up (subject to alteration): (2.30) Chesham Nursey Stakes Handicap; (3.00) Summer Holiday Fillies Stakes Handicap; (3.30) The Queen's Stakes; (4.00) Silver Magnan Handicap; (4.10) Tote Bookmakers Sprint Stakes Handicap
4.30 **Countdown**. Richard Whitley hosts the words and numbers game. With cartoonist Bill Tidy in the dictionary corner
5.00 **Kingdom of the Deep: Penguin Island**. Cindy Buxton and Annie Pikea spent Christmas on a small, uninhabited island in the Falklands which is a huge colony of seabirds. It is estimated that five million penguins, a huge colony of albatrosses, and other species, flock to breed there each year (r)
6.00 **The Wonder Years: Rock 'n' Roll**. American comedy series about teenage angst in the Sixties. Starring Fred Savage (r)
6.30 **The Henderson Kids**. Australian soap, starring a young Kylie Minogue. The Hendersons are a family. When Wheeler announces that he will clone the milk in Haven Bay (r)
7.00 **Channel 4 News**. Summary. Weather



Memory lane: Paul McCartney sings the golden oldies (7.00pm)

8.00 Singin' in the Rain, a disapparently casual rendering of the story of how Hollywood created the musical film "Sings" for the Bop. Like another erstwhile subversive, Tom Steele, McCartney has made the transition to family entertainment and this show can be recommended to rookers of all ages.

8.30 Brooklynite. Soap set in suburban Marseyaside.

9.00 My Two Dads: Kind of a Drag. Tepid American sitcom about two American teenagers with two fathers. Starring Greg Evigan, Ray Romano and Scott Resnan.

9.30 The "Saveatons". Series of Basic Hunters and Bombers, second in a series of films in which tribal peoples have their first contact with modern technology. The hunters of the title are an Indian tribe called the Innus, inhabit most of Labrador, a sub-arctic forest in northeast Canada. The bombers are the RAF, Dutch and German aircraft conducting supersonic low-level bomber training over their land. Innus speak up against the planned expansion of the airport at Repulse Bay, which they regard as a threat to their culture and livelihood (P).

10.00 E.N.G.: Fools Rush In. Canadian drama series set in a hilly television news station. Watson interviews a man who wants to donate \$20 million to help mankind. (Teletext)

11.00 Down Under Nights High Noon. Peter Celis's comedy-generates animation about Australia.

11.10 Down Under Broken. The Melanesians' independence from Australia. Film-maker Francis Calvert takes the Torres Strait Islanders.

12.40am The Road to Heaven. An insider's point of view of the "revolution" in Czechoslovakia (P). Ends at 1.35

7.00 Tenpin Bowling
Forum 8.30 Motor
European Golf T

Vis the Astra satellite.
7:30am Live Athletics: World Championship from Tokyo-10,000 Meter Cycling 9.00
9:00am Eurosport News 7.00
Motorpost News 7.30 Rowing: World Championships from Vienna 8.00
Highlights 9.50 Boxing 12.30 European News

SCREENSPORT

7.00am Powersport International 8.00 International Sports Centre US Grand Prix Show Jumping 10.00m Golfcourse Challenge 11.00 Fin European Athletics 12.00 Motor Sport FORD 1.00pm FEVO 1.50 International Tripleton 2.00 Tennis 3.30 US Grand Prix Showjumping 4.00 Giffels World Sport Special 6.00 Sport USAW Wrestling 6.00 Got

RECYCLES

12.30 Sport AC Delco Corolla Car Racing

LIFESTYLE

Vis the Astra satellite.

10.00am The Great American Getaway
11.15 Coffee Break 11.50 Everyday
on 11.50 Simply Marvelous 12.15
Jeany Raphael 1.15 What's Cool?
Search for Tomorrow 1.40 The Edge
2.05 Dances Court 2.30 The Year
2.40 The Tom Temp Seal 3.10
The Wedding 4.00 Ten Beasts 4.10
Laser 4.40 The
Gamehouse 6.00 The Sale-Vie
Programme 6.00m Cane 10.00m
The Gamehouse Programme
Satellite Judokan.


MTV

Vis the Astra satellite.

11.15 Four hours of music and p

RADIO 4

Solve up a puzzle in the time it takes the hair to grow on the back of your head by doing this puzzle faster than Einstein



The puzzle is a 4x4 grid of symbols. The symbols are: π , π , $\sqrt{\quad}$, $\sqrt{\quad}$ in the first row; π , π , π , π in the second row; \approx , \approx , $\%$, $\sqrt{\quad}$ in the third row; and $\sqrt{\quad}$, $\%$, \approx , π in the fourth row. Below the grid are the numbers: 34, 36, 28, and 28.

HOW TO SOLVE THE PUZZLE

The different symbols have different values. Added together they give the totals shown. Work out the missing total for the last hand

If you can solve this puzzle, you could be eligible to join Mensa. The H.C. Cut out the coupon for further details and a copy of the self-administered IQ. MENSAs, FREEPOST, WOLVERHAMPTON WV2 1BR. (No stamp required)

NAME _____
 ADDRESS _____
 POST CODE _____

Mensa

π	π	$\sqrt{\quad}$	$\sqrt{\quad}$	28
π	π	π	π	24
\cong	\cong	%	$\sqrt{\quad}$	42
$\sqrt{\quad}$	%	\cong	π	36
?	34	36	28	

The different symbols have different values.
Added together they give the totals shown.
Work out the missing total for the left hand column

If you can solve this puzzle, you could be eligible to join Mensa. The High IQ Society

Cut out the coupon for further details and a copy of the self-administered test.
To: MENSA, FREEPOST, WOLVERHAMPTON WY2 1BR. (No stamp required)
NAME _____

ADDRESS _____
POST CODE _____

Mensa

1. The first step in the process is to identify the problem or issue that needs to be addressed. This involves gathering information and understanding the context of the problem.

● CRICKET 23
● FOOTBALL 24-25
● RACING 26-27
● EDUCATION 28-29
● BUSINESS AND FINANCE 32-34

Inspired Christie narrowly misses a world championship medal but still enjoys his finest moment

Lewis the great claims gold in a world record

From DAVID POWELL
ATHLETICS CORRESPONDENT
TOKYO

RARELY can so much have happened in less than ten seconds. Certainly never in athletics. The world record for 100 metres was taken into new territory at the world championships here yesterday and, like moths to a lightbulb, five men followed Carl Lewis into the sprinter's wonderland: nine point something.

Lewis became the first man to run under 9.90sec and took Leroy Burrell with him. Typical: Burrell has followed Lewis everywhere else, to the same university, choice of subject, track club, coach, event and religion. Burrell, having set the world record for the first time with 9.90 in June, lost it after barely ten weeks. Lewis ran 9.86.

Burrell clocked 9.88 and Dennis Mitchell took the bronze with 9.91. They are now the three fastest men of all time. Linford Christie, from London, ran a European record of 9.92 and still finished fourth. Frankie Fredericks followed in 9.95, a Namibian record, and Ray Stewart in 9.96, a Jamaican record. Mitchell could not even claim to be the fastest man from Philadelphia. Burrell and Lewis were born and raised there too. In this one race alone, the first six times made better arithmetic than the sum of the fastest six



Progression of world 100 metres record

10.8	Donald Lippincott (US)	27.12
10.4	Charles Paddock (US)	23.4.21
10.3	Percy Williams (Can)	9.8.30
10.2	Jesse Owens (US)	20.6.36
10.1	Wesley Williams (US)	3.8.58
10.0	Armin Hary (GER)	21.8.80
9.95	Jim Hines (US)	14.10.68
9.93	Calvin Smith (US)	3.7.83
9.92	Carl Lewis (US)	24.9.88
9.90	Leroy Burrell (US)	14.6.91
9.88	Carl Lewis (US)	25.8.91

□ In addition, Ben Johnson (Can) set records of 9.83 (50.8.87) and 9.79 (24.9.88), but both were disqualified by the IAAF for drug abuse.

in history. All acted out in front of Ben Johnson too.

But for Johnson, this would have been Lewis's third successive world championship gold in this event. But for Johnson, Lewis would not have had to wait until now to set a world record and take the glory on the spot. Before Burrell took the record, it had belonged to Lewis, to his 9.92sec in Seoul; but he was second that day until the truth about Johnson was revealed.

If the statistics of the race are numbing, so are the facts behind them. Lewis was almost last into his stride and was sixth at 50 metres; Burrell, at that stage, was two metres up and in sight of his first world or Olympic title.

Then Lewis's legs began to swallow ground. "At 80 metres, I thought 'I've got a great

shot", he said. "At 90, when I had cleared everyone except Leroy, I thought 'Hey, I can win this'." And, in the last five metres, Lewis swept past.

He has won the 100 metres at two Olympic Games, but this was his greatest moment. He was in tears at his press conference, distressed that his deceased father could not have seen him here. Burrell's was a more joyful tale: he had been worried, he said, while his father had undergone open heart surgery, but on Saturday he came out of intensive care. It was only yesterday that Burrell spoke with him for the first time.

"I found out this morning that he had got out and I was just glad to hear his voice," Burrell said. "Then I could forget all about it and concentrate on the race." However, his mother had made it to the stadium. Posing as a reporter in the interview room she raised her arm and was handed the microphone. "Leroy," she said, "I love you, I'm proud of you, I think you are great." Nobody minded.

To Christie, now, only three men have ever run faster. People had been saying he was too old, but Christie does not worry that he is 31. This had been a wretched summer for him, but he kept telling us that he gets it right on the big occasion. Could we believe him?

He came here with a season's best of 10.14sec but turned logic on its head. Even Christie, in his blue lycro cycling shorts, did not expect this much. "I thought I would do 9.94sec at best," he said.

"I am really surprised and pleased." He need not feel down that he did not have a medal: this was a triumph above anything he has won. "See, I am not too old," he said, words he has been longing to say.

Burrell is aged 24 and Lewis 30. Although Burrell shared Lewis's lap of honour, and all three Americans squeezed on the top platform of the dais as their anthem played, he encouraged the crowd to applaud the victor.

"I knew Carl wanted to savour this moment because he does not have very many left," Burrell said. He hopes.



Photo-finish: Lewis celebrates as Burrell, top, Mitchell and Christie trail in his wake

Sprinting to a place among the demigods

IT WAS not records that Carl Lewis broke here last night, it was the boundaries of credibility. If there was any doubt about his place among the legends of not just athletics but of all sport, this was removed by a victory that was astonishing by every estimation.

As the gasping, wordless Japanese television commentator exclaimed as Lewis soared like an antelope from being a yard down at half-way to take Leroy Burrell on the line, "Asasargha, Oooooohh." It was a race that consigned the banished Ben Johnson to history's footnotes, defied the law of nature which determines that sprinters are young men surging on the flood of natural hormones in fluid muscles and overthrew the notion that Burrell, the boy, the record-holder, would bury him.

What Lewis achieved is not measured in seconds, but in the awe with which his name will be discussed in years to come. He had taken his place alongside the immortal Jesse Owens when he won his four gold medals in Los Angeles seven years ago. To have broken the world record here in the world championships at 30, following his moral triumphs in the Rome championships and Seoul Olympics, makes him a phenomenon to compare with the likes of Nurni, Bobby Jones, Ali and Pele.

Such names are not spoken of, after their time, in terms of what they won, but of representing something beyond normal reach, of being on a plateau somewhere between us and the gods. Lewis now stands with them.

In the athletic arena — and he still has the long jump — come and Beamon's record to aim at — he obliterated the earlier fastest men of the century through the decades: Charlie Paddock, Mel Patton, Bob Hayes (of whom the rolling Burrell is so reminiscent), Jim Hines and Valeriy Borzov. Arguably, Lewis is superior even to Owens.

On that wondrous May day in 1935, when Owens broke six world records within one hour, it seemed there could never again be such a man. Owens was an early emancipation symbol for the black man, and confirmed an eminence that rose beyond sport in the Berlin Olympics. He might

well have won further Olympic fame in the 1940 Games. Lewis, the athlete of the Eighties alongside Coe, remains awesome in the Nineties. "It will be the highlight of the championships," Burrell, exceedingly generous, said. Burrell is wrong: it will be the international highlight of 1991, never mind George Foreman, Ian Woosnam or the outcome of the rugby union World Cup.

It could be too easy at such exceptional moments to open the tap of exaggeration, but when Linford Christie, breaking the European record in what was the world record a few months ago, said "he's the greatest of all time", that may be the simple truth. Burrell, who has almost schoolboyish innocence in the way he punctuates his conversation with "gosh!", said that 95 per cent of the outcome was determined beforehand in the mind, and that Lewis had proved himself beyond all examination. Lewis reflected: "My entire career had something to do with tonight."

As significant as the race was the fact, as Burrell said, that "this was real", a condition we must all fondly hope is so. Primo Nebiolo said at dinner the night before a little somberly: "We must hope this is no repeat of Seoul."

There is a passion about both Burrell and Lewis, colleagues with the Santa Monica club, that conveys an honesty. Sport, Burrell said, has cleansed itself. "It's about strong will," he suggested; the inference being that those who use drugs lack the will.

Another simple and obvious truth. In mid-afternoon, the two spent an hour together, relaxing. Behind both lay the motivation of a father. Lewis's is no longer with us, but watching, his son said; Burrell's is recovering from open heart surgery. Their fathers' spirit went with them to the starting line. The thought moved Lewis to tears afterwards; Burrell said that once he had spoken to his father in hospital, hearing his voice following the operation, it liberated his mind to concentrate on the race. In vain.

"I broke the world record," he mused, "but he broke it a bit more than I did."

Backley and McKean tumble at first hurdle

BRITISH gold medal hopes took a dive as earthbound as one of Steve Backley's javelins yesterday when Backley himself and Tom McKean failed to progress beyond the earliest stages of their events (David Powell writes). After Peter Elliott's withdrawal from the 1,500 metres before the championships began, these were hefty blows.

Backley was at a loss to explain his unexpected failure. This had been his least successful season since his junior days, but he was over his leg injury and ready, he said, to perform well. But he

was some ten metres short of his previous worst performance of the season.

In three qualifying-round throws, his best was 78.24 metres. "I have not thrown as little as that for three or four years," Backley said.

To his credit, Backley blamed neither the javelin nor the injury which hindered him in the early part of the season. "You talk about hearing the music of the event, but I did not hear anything out there," he said. "I just could not believe what I had done."

McKean's exit, page 22

Results, page 22

Broadhurst loses but gains Ryder Cup place

From MITCHELL PLATTIS
GOLF CORRESPONDENT
DUSSELDORF

PAUL Broadhurst yesterday won a place in Europe's team for the Ryder Cup match next month, despite losing a playoff for the German Open to Mark McNulty, of Zimbabwe, on the Hubbebrath course.

Soon after the end of the tournament, Bernard Gallacher, the European captain, selected Mark James in preference to several other contenders, including Eamonn Darcy, who was only £58.26 short of gaining an automatic place.

Broadhurst, aged 26, from Atherstone in Warwickshire,

knew before he lost, with a six to McNulty's four at the first extra hole, that he had secured the chance to play against the United States in his third year as a professional.

Broadhurst thus displaced Darcy in the top nine of the Ryder Cup points list who automatically earn their places. Gallacher chose James in addition to Nick Faldo and José-María Olazábal to complete the 12-man line-up.

For Broadhurst, the day encompassed the gamut of emotions. "It's all come out of the blue really because I wasn't a contender at the start of the season," he said. "It's everyone's ambition to play in the match. I'm delighted although I've got mixed feelings right now because I'm disappointed I didn't win the golf tournament."

Broadhurst knew he required a top-two finish and he achieved his objective in the best possible way with a 65, the lowest round of the day. He had two eagles and four birdies, with two of those coming at the 17th and 18th holes. Broadhurst became the

fifth newcomer to the team and Gallacher, predictably, went for experience when he added James, having already indicated that both Olazábal and Faldo would be selected.

"I think it's the strongest team we've ever had," Gallacher said. "I wouldn't want to be the Americans. I really wanted Mark in the team and I have a gut feeling he is going to have a great match. When I told him 15 minutes after the tournament ended that he was in, he said he wouldn't let me down. I believe that."

Gallacher's announcement was made shortly after one of the most eventful final rounds in the PGA European Tour. In an astonishing climax, Sam Torrance needed to two-putt from the edge of the green to secure one of the nine automatic places. Torrance had fallen out of contention for the tournament when he took seven at the 17th and he was unaware of the consequences of a dropped shot at the 18th. The Scot, however, kissed the hole with his first attempt and safely holed the second from

(GB and Ireland unless stated)

1. S. Ballesteros (Sp) 233,083.63; 2. C. Montgomerie 270,335.70; 3. S. Richardson 267,403.02; 4. I. Woosnam 248,251.75; 5. S. Torrance 193,738.95; 6. B. Langer (Ger) 191,813.25; 7. P. Broadhurst 185,803.97; 8. D. Feherty 184,276.78; 9. D. Gifford 182,203.31; 10. E. Darcy 182,145.05; 11. J. M. Olazábal (Sp) 174,533.97; 12. R. J. Johnson (Eng) 153,228.35; 13. M. McLean 125,820.95; 14. A. Forsbrand (Swe) 123,890.04; 15. N. Reid 119,885.73; 16. C. Rocca 111,098.02; 17. J. Fiverson (Sp) 110,448.25; 18. M. A. Martin (Sp) 105,734.82; 19. B. Lane 104,189.26; 20. P. Mitchell 100,574.56; 21. M. Lammie (Swe) 100,221.23; 22. M. James 99,058.18.

18 inches. Torrance finished with a 72 and a share of third place with David J. Russell (66) on 277, for which he received £29,550.

If, however, he had dropped a shot he would have finished in a tie for fifth place and the £14,881 he would have earned would have been insufficient. "But I would have picked Sam," Gallacher said. "I would not have gone to America without him."

Darcy was the one to suffer because right down to Torrance holding that last putt, he was still in ninth place in the Johnnie Walker points list.

Darcy, who was out fishing yesterday, had decided to bypass the tournament.

A combination of events contributed to Darcy missing out. David Gifford, who won the English Open last Sunday, had earlier in the day faltered by dropping three shots in his last five holes. Gifford, however, won £4,320 for a share of 30th place which enabled him to finish £58.26 above Darcy.

If Darcy had played and made the cut there might have been a different scenario.

FINAL SCORES (GB and Ireland unless stated): 273: M. McNulty (Zim), 65, 67, 72, 65; P. Broadhurst 73, 67, 68, 65 (McNulty won on 1st hole of sudden-death playoff); 277: D. J. Russell 72, 70, 69, 66; S. Torrance 69, 67, 65, 72; 278: D. Silva (Por) 72, 72, 67, 67; B. Lane 71, 68, 73, 68; R. Fiebert 70, 73, 69, 71; 279: R. McParlane 69, 72, 72, 66; C. Rocca 70, 73, 69, 67; R. Johnson 73, 70, 67, 73; 280: M. James 70, 73, 67, 70; V. Singh (Ind) 67, 71, 71, 71; 281: G. Day (US) 72, 70, 72, 65; 282: A. Johnston (Can) 70, 72, 69, 71; 283: M. McLean 70, 73, 68, 73; 284: M. Lammie 70, 73, 69, 73; 285: M. Reid 71, 70, 74, 73; 286: B. Langer (Ger) 73, 71, 73, 68; 287: J. Fiverson 71, 72, 73, 72; 288: A. Martin 67, 73, 77, 67; A. Hunter 69, 71, 74, 70; M. Clayton (Aus) 71, 71, 72, 70; J. Fiebert (Swe) 72, 72, 70, 70; B. Lane 72, 68, 73, 72; D. Gifford 69, 73, 69, 73; C. Montgomerie 70, 71, 69, 74; P. Walker 71, 72, 67, 74.

Payne is in the swing

JIM Payne, a member of the team for the Walker Cup match at Portmarnock next week, completed a glittering double among the Southport sandhills yesterday (John Hennessy writes).

Having taken the silver medal for low amateur in the Open championship at Royal Birkdale last month, he now won the European amateur

championship at Hillside, next door, with a final round of 67, equalling the amateur course record. His total of 281, seven under par, was four shots clear of Alvaro Prat, of Spain, in second place.

FINAL LEADING SCORES: 281: J. Payne (Eng), 71, 73, 70, 67; 282: A. Prat (Sp), 73, 74, 68, 283: G. Wostenholme (Eng), 70, 68, 69, 73; 284: C. Bennett (Sp), 72, 76, 72, 68; D. Day (US), 72, 73, 68, 74; 285: J. Hennessy (Ger), 72, 74, 71, 71; 286: I. Garratt (Eng), 72, 70, 75, 67; P. Williams (Eng), 70, 74, 77, 69.

LOOK CLOSER
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Minolta give you advanced optics for brighter images and the best range including autofocus binoculars. They're worth a closer look!

MINOLTA

Severiano Ballesteros (Spain). Age: 34. Height: 6ft. Weight: 12st 9lb. Turned pro: 1974. Major championships: Open (1979, 1984, 1988), Masters (1980, 1983), European Tour wins: 48. Others: 15. Ryder Cup (1979-83-85-87-89). Played 25, Won 13, Lost 8, Halved 4.

Paul Broadhurst (England). Age: 26. Height: 5ft 11in. Weight: 11st 7lb. Turned pro: 1988. European Tour wins: 3. Ryder Cup: debut.

Nick Faldo (England). Age: 34. Height: 6ft 3in. Weight: 14st 7lb. Turned pro: 1976. Major championships: Open (1987, 1990), Masters (1989, 1990), European Tour wins: 21. Others: 5. Ryder Cup (1977-79-81-83-85-87-89). P27, W16, L3, H2.

David Feherty (Ireland). Age: 33. Height: 5ft 10in. Weight: 12st. Turned pro: 1978. European

Tour wins: 4. Others: 2. Ryder Cup: debut.

David Gifford (England). Age: 25. Height: 5ft 10in. Weight: 11st 3lb. Turned pro: 1985. European Tour wins: 1. Others: 0. Ryder Cup (1987-89): P14, W5, L8, H1.

Mark James (England). Age: 37. Height: 5ft 11in. Weight: 13st 3lb. Turned pro: 1975. European Tour wins: 14. Others: 3. Ryder Cup (1977-79-81-83): P14, W5, L8, H1.

Bernhard Langer (Germany). Age: 33. Height: 5ft 9in. Weight: 11st 2lb. Turned pro: 1972. Major championships: Masters (1985), European Tour wins: 24. Others: 6. Ryder Cup (1981-83-85-87-89): P22, W10, L8, H4.

Colin Montgomerie (Scotland). Age: 28. Height: 6ft 1in. Weight: 13st 11lb. Turned pro: 1987. European Tour wins: 2. Ryder Cup: debut.

José-María Olazábal (Spain). Age: 25. Height: 5ft 10in. Weight: 11st. Turned pro: 1985. European Tour wins: 10. Others: 4. Ryder Cup (1987-89): P10, W7, L2, H1.

Steven Richardson (England). Age: 25. Height: 6ft 1in. Weight: 14st 7lb. Turned pro: 1989. European Tour wins: 2. Ryder Cup: debut.

Sam Torrance (Scotland). Age: 38. Height: 5ft 11in. Weight: 13st 7lb. Turned pro: 1970. European Tour wins: 15. Others: 4. Ryder Cup (1981-83-85-87-89): P18, W4, L10, H4.

Ian Woosnam (Wales). Age: 33. Height: 5ft 4in. Weight: 11st 7lb. Turned pro: 1975. Major championships: Masters (1991). European Tour wins: 19. Others: 7. Ryder Cup (1983-85-87-89): P17, W7, L7, H3.

United States: P. Azinger, M. Calavechchia, C. Beck, F. Couples, R. Floyd, H. Irwin, W. Levi, M. O'Meara, S. Pate, C. Pavin, P. Stewart, L. Watkins.

Betting (Coral): 4-6 United States, 5-4 Europe; 14 the tie.

Correct score betting: 14½-13½, Europe 10-1, USA 10-1; 15-13, Europe 9-1, USA 10-1; 15½-12½, Europe 9-1, USA 12-1; 16-12, Europe 11-1, USA 14-1; 16½-11½, Europe 14-1, USA 18-1; 17-11, Europe 16-1, USA 22-1; 17½-10½, Europe 20-1, USA 25-1; 18-10, Europe 25-1, USA 33-1; 18½-9½, Europe 28-1, USA 40-1; 19-9, Europe 33-1, USA 50-1; 19½-8½, Europe 40-1, USA 66-1; 20-8, Europe 66-1, USA 80-1.

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MOTOR RACING

Senna turns up heat as wiring trips up Mansell

From NORMAN HOWELL at SPA-FRANCORCHAMPS

AYRTON Senna won a dramatic Belgian grand prix here, his fourth in succession on this fast and demanding race track which took a heavy toll on many of the leading drivers and their machines. Nigel Mansell had to retire on the 21st lap while leading and looking strong and in control. Gerhard Berger completed the McLaren-Honda one-two, 32 seconds ahead of third-placed Nelson Piquet in the Benetton. Mark Blundell, of Britain, driving a Brabham-Yamaha into sixth place, scored his first points in a Formula One race.

Senna took the lead, having placed a serious marker on the world championship. Mansell was extremely disappointed as the electrical problem which took him out of the race had made his task of catching the Brazilian a very arduous one. With five races to go, there are a potential 50 points for the taking.

"It was my race, I was ahead, the car and engine were behaving brilliantly, and I was running the race on my own terms," Mansell said. "It's a terrible blow."

Mansell was not the only one to suffer on a day where the middle laps saw much of the action. Cars were zipping in and out of the pit lane changing tyres and narrowly avoiding each other.

Michael Schumacher, the paddock's golden boy on Friday and Saturday, was the first to leave the fray. It was a great pity when he had to retire with a clutch problem at the first bend as many people had delved deep into their pockets for a bet on the German with Ladbroke's local branch.

The next big name was Alain Prost, who pulled into the entrance to the pit lane with smoke pouring out of his engine after Mansell had overtaken him at the end of the second lap. Apparently Ferrari have a facility for over-revving at the start, but the excessive vibrations seem to have disconnected an oil pipe.

The Englishman then harried the Brazilian for a number of laps, confirming what Senna carries on saying despite the fact that he is getting the best of the Williams. Senna was down on power, without the speed to overtake on the straight, the world champion said after the race. "Williams still have the best car and engine package."

Mansell then took advantage of Senna's bad pit stop (Berger was to suffer a worse one - nearly 17 seconds) and took the lead. Had it not been for the electrical fault, Mansell surely would have won.

Andrea de Cesaris carved his way maturely and steadily to second place, but two laps from the end large pieces of rubber left by the tyres of other cars on the track clogged up his radiator.

Eleven laps before, another cruel blow for a driver who was within reach of his first Formula One victory. Jean Alesi, who had taken the lead on the 22nd lap after Mansell's retirement, seemed to have the measure of Senna, only to be defeated by a blown engine.

Ironically, the Honda engine too did not perform well. If Senna and Berger are to be believed, the Austrian was particularly hard: "It was incredible how little the engine pulled. I am very upset. This is a very bad engine."

RESULTS FROM SPA-FRANCORCHAMPS

Race distance: 44 laps, 305.360km
1. A. Senna (Br), McLaren-Honda, 1hr 27min 17.600sec; 2. D. Berger (Ger), McLaren-Honda, 1hr 28min 0.300sec; 3. N. Piquet (Ben), Benetton Ford, 1hr 28min 1.000sec; 4. M. Blundell (Br), Brabham-Yamaha, 1hr 28min 1.000sec; 5. G. Berger (Ger), Williams-Honda, 1hr 28min 1.000sec; 6. M. Schumacher (Ger), Benetton Ford, 1hr 28min 1.000sec; 7. J. Alesi (Fr), Ferrari, 1hr 28min 1.000sec; 8. P. Dornbush (Ger), Williams-Honda, 1hr 28min 1.000sec; 9. A. Prost (Fr), Ferrari, 1hr 28min 1.000sec; 10. M. Senna (Br), McLaren-Honda, 1hr 28min 1.000sec; 11. T. Boutsen (Bel), Ligier, 1hr 28min 1.000sec; 12. P. Martin (Fr), Ligier, 1hr 28min 1.000sec; 13. A. de Cesaris (It), Ligier, 1hr 28min 1.000sec; 14. S. Badoer (It), Ligier, 1hr 28min 1.000sec; 15. J. Dornbush (Ger), Williams-Honda, 1hr 28min 1.000sec; 16. J. Alesi (Fr), Ferrari, 1hr 28min 1.000sec; 17. P. Dornbush (Ger), Williams-Honda, 1hr 28min 1.000sec; 18. J. Dornbush (Ger), Williams-Honda, 1hr 28min 1.000sec; 19. J. Dornbush (Ger), Williams-Honda, 1hr 28min 1.000sec; 20. J. Dornbush (Ger), Williams-Honda, 1hr 28min 1.000sec.

Martin charged with uphill task to lift sagging spirits

From DAVID POWELL
ATHLETICS CORRESPONDENT
TOKYO

EAEMONN Martin today goes into the 10,000 metres final at the world championships here hoping to redress the balance for Britain. After what has been happening to British team aspirations, Martin is seeking something remarkable to lift the gloom.

Martin looked comfortable and qualified easily from his heat on Saturday, but he will need his wits and his best-ever performance about him if he is to make an impact now. Khalid Sakh, the double world cross-country champion from Morocco, and Salvatore Antibo, the European 5,000 and 10,000 metres champion from Italy, are expected to dominate the race, with only Richard Chelimo, a young rising Kenyan, perceived to have any chance of interfering.

However, Martin was the first member of the British team out here to acclimatise and spent 22,000 on bringing his own training partner. After his best winter and a win in the European Cup in June, he is serious about this one. If he can stay

with the pace which Antibo and Sakh are likely to employ to try to run the final out of Sakh, Martin would have a chance in a sprint finish.

His speed is his forte, but the task is awesome. Richard Nurkhar, too, is expected to be well up but Andy Bristow, the third Briton, has done well to reach the final and will be making up numbers.

Amid the British debris yesterday, Ann Williams reached the final of the 800 metres, Roger Black and Keesa Alabusi progressed through their opening rounds of the 400 metres and 400 metres hurdles respectively, and Linda Kouhag reached the third round of the 400 metres.

Rosa Mota, unbeaten in a championship marathon since the 1984 Los Angeles Olympics, is probably no longer the world No. 1. But, in deference to Mota's two European, one Olympic and one world title

since Los Angeles, Wanda Panfil, who succeeded her as world champion yesterday, said she still has some work to do before dislodging Mota from the Panfil was asked if she considered herself No. 1. "Not yet, I think," she said. "I must improve my time a bit more." Panfil has run 2hr 24min 18sec, Mota 2:23:29. But Panfil, from Poland, has now won five marathons in a row: Nagoya, London, New York, Boston and, now, here.

This was a close one, her victory by four seconds, in 2:29:53, coming in contrast to Mota's seven-minute margin in 1987. She won by four seconds over Sachiko Yamashita, of Japan, though there was never any question of Panfil losing. Above all else in athletics, Japanese creative marathon success and Yamashita's medal was unexpected. She had given up teaching to try to become an international marathon runner, telling her pupils as she left: "I would like to represent all the world, but it is just a dream." Sally Ellis, in tenth place, and Sally Eastall, eleventh, ran commendably for Britain.

McKean's 1min 47.38sec is an everyday time and was picked off easily. "I did not look round," he said. "I thought the two of us were clear."

Among those who progressed were his two fellow Britons, Brian White and Steve Hard, but if either reaches the final it will be surprising.

Jackie Joyner-Kersey retained her long jump title but injured her ankle in the fourth round and the successful defence of her heptathlon crown must be in doubt. In the first round, she jumped a season's best of 7.32 metres, but after her fourth attempt Joyner-Kersey hobbled out of the sand clutching her right ankle.



The stuff of records: Egerszegi pushes away from the wall at the start of her 200 metres backstroke heat yesterday

Egerszegi shatters world mark

From CRAIG LORD
IN ATHENS

A CAPACITY crowd rose to its feet at the twentieth European swimming championships in Athens last night after witnessing the most extraordinary world record for ten years. Krisztina Egerszegi, of Hungary, lowered the 200 metres backstroke record by 1.98sec, to win the title five seconds ahead of her nearest rival.

The 17-year-old from Budapest clocked 2min 06.62sec to break Betty Mitchell's five-year-old record. All at the Olympic Center were on their feet after Egerszegi turned at the 150-metre mark two seconds ahead of world-record pace.

Not since 1968 has the world record at 200 metres backstroke been so close to that of the 200 metres butterfly. Ten years ago this month, Mary T. Meagher silenced a home American crowd by clocking 2min 05.96sec at the butterfly, a record that still stands.

Last night, it was Egerszegi, the Olympic and world champion, who stunned everyone. Happy, but very calm after her superb effort, the Hungarian said she knew 2min 06sec was possible after glancing the scoreboard at the final turn. A last length of 51.83sec clinched the record.

Her nearest rival was fellow Hungarian Tunde Szabo, who clocked 2min 11.42sec. In the same race, Joanne Deskins set a British record of 2min 14.23sec in fifth place, just ahead of Kristina Egerszegi.

Despite her efforts, there will be no huge celebration for Egerszegi, with the general manager of the Hungarian team, Gyorgy Zemplenyi, saying that she could not go to the farewell party with other swimmers because of an early start, packing and "other reasons, but I'm not telling you what."

In contrast, Ian Wilson intended to spend the night celebrating after taking the silver medal, behind Jörg Hoffmann, the world champion, from Germany, in the 1,500 metres freestyle.

Wilson, a business studies student from Sunderland, went into the race with a best time 21:25.00, but came within two seconds of his last night. His time of 19min 03.72sec, to Hoffmann's 19:01.57, was a new British record by more than seven seconds. Wilson was not

tricked into following the German's fast early pace, but by the 800-metre mark, at which he set a British record of 8min 00.63sec, had pulled back a five-metre deficit. Wilson said all he could think at that stage was: "When is he going to die? Is he going to die?"

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DeFries crowns season with best Test figures

Sri Lankans throw away chance to challenge old order

By ALAN LEE CRICKET CORRESPONDENT

LORD'S (third day of five): England, with nine second innings wickets in hand, are 158 runs ahead of Sri Lanka

The rebellion, sprung upon England on day one and consolidated on day two, was suppressed on the third day of this Cornhill Test. The old order has met with a brave and enterprising challenge and survived with authority intact. It is, of course, still possible that England's batting might surrender for the second time in the match and that Sri Lanka will be left with an accessible last-day target. Much more likely, however, is that Graham Gooch will be able to declare, perhaps an hour before this evening's close, with a lead in excess of 400. Victory would then be a probability, for single-minded attrition does not come easily to this touring team.

Sri Lanka demonstrated as much on Saturday. Presented with a good pitch, fine weather and a platform from which to dominate the game, they lost three key wickets, and all realistic prospects of victory, while many among the 15,000 crowd were still settling in their seats.

Nothing was more damaging to Sri Lanka, nor more disappointing for the emboldened spectators, than the tame dismissal of de Silva. On Friday evening, he had made 42 in half an hour of scintillating strokeplay. Had he batted until lunch on Saturday, England would have been on the hook. Instead, he flogged the second ball he received to gully, where the predatory Lewis made a sharp catch look straightforward.

Mahamaya was curiously and belatedly sent on his way by umpire Bird as he retreated towards square leg, but he was not to be troubled by a second gully catch and, although they were still chasing along at five runs an over, Sri Lanka had now lost half their side.

It was a frantic decline, betraying the fact that de Silva's team is suffering the consequences of too few five-day games. Having restricted England to a mediocre total, they set about their reply as if it was their duty to be in front before lunch. It made for great entertainment, but it was not Test cricket, rectified only in part by Hathurusinghe's 66 in almost five hours and a blazing 52 in 55 balls from the

potential man of the match, Ratnayake.

Gooch's response to it all was open to debate. After the team that Anurastris achieved on the opening day, it seemed logical for him to give Tufnell an early bowl. Instead, the single spin bowler had only the statutory pre-lunch over and was not called upon again until the innings was 50 overs old. It is true that Tufnell then proceeded to bowl below his best, but that is not strictly the point. On this occasion, Gooch's captaincy lacked imagination for the admirable DeFries apart, the seamers did not bowl well enough to demand such persistence.

DeFries's best Test figures, seven for 70, were as much reward for his excellent efforts against the West Indies as a recognition of his bowling here. His advance, after years of underachievement, is one great vindication of selectorial loyalty.

Hugh Morris is suffering from the opposite syndrome, unable to translate his prolific county form to Test level. He earned this cap with his heavy under fire at The Oval, but scores of 42 and 23 will have disappointed him and cannot have convinced the selectors that he is long-term material.

Gooch, 60 not out overnight, should stay to supervise today's operations and it must be odds-on his seventh century in 16 Tests since assuming the captaincy. So far as the winter ahead is concerned, however, the most revealing innings may be Botham's.

He remains reluctant to undertake the Test tour of New Zealand, and has told the management as much. Their reaction ought logically to be to tell him that he cannot expect World Cup selection for he is not, and never has been, as effective a one-day player as he is in Test cricket and might be still less effective immediately after a pantomime season.

Overtime was necessary again on Saturday and there has not been a session in which the 15-overs per hour maximum has been achieved. This, however, is the last Test to be played before the newly-agreed International Cricket Council fixing system comes into force. Players, and possibly administrators, may not yet appreciate the severity of the fines, but they soon will. In simple terms, a team falling 20 overs short of the requirement, in the course of a Test match, will lose its entire match fee. It will have played for nothing, and if that has no effect in speeding up the game, nothing will.

England won toss

First Innings: 282 (A J Stewart 113 not out; R J Ratnayake 5-69).

Second Innings

*B A Gooch not out	80	68	7	142	115
H Morris c Mahamaya b Anurastris	23	—	—	105	71
Stayed overnight to backward square-leg	—	—	—	—	—
A J Stewart not out	7	—	—	36	27
Extras (lb 5, nb 1)	10	—	—	—	—
Total (1 wicket, 35 overs, 142 min)	100	—	—	—	—

FALL OF WICKETS: 1-78 (Gooch 48 not out); 2-100 (Morris 23); 3-142 (Stewart 7); 4-158 (Stewart 36); 5-178 (Stewart 36); 6-200 (Stewart 36); 7-220 (Stewart 36); 8-240 (Stewart 36); 9-260 (Stewart 36); 10-282 (Stewart 113 not out).

SRI LANKA: First Innings

D B P Kuruppu b DeFries	5	—	—	13	11
R Mahamaya c Gooch b DeFries	68	—	7	284	201
V G Mahamaya c Tufnell b DeFries	4	—	—	15	8
A P Gurusinha b DeFries	42	—	7	37	32
*P A de Silva c Lewis b DeFries	2	—	—	12	11
Square out to gully	—	—	—	—	—
R Mahamaya c Russell b Botham	2	—	—	12	11
Inside edge to wicketkeeper	—	—	—	—	—
S Jayasuriya c Smith b DeFries	11	—	2	13	7
Stayed overnight	—	—	—	—	—
H P Tisserana c Morris b Lawrence	20	—	3	75	32
Edge to short leg	—	—	—	—	—
R Ratnayake b DeFries	52	—	7	72	55
Run out	—	—	—	—	—
C P Ratnayake b DeFries	0	—	—	5	3
Run out	—	—	—	—	—
K I W Wijesuriya b Lawrence	1	—	—	39	27
S D Anurastris b Lawrence	1	—	—	11	4
Hit run out	—	—	—	—	—
Extras (lb 15)	15	—	—	—	—
Total (297 min, 68.1 overs)	224	—	—	—	—

FALL OF WICKETS: 1-12 (Ratnayake 5 not out); 2-22 (Mahamaya 68); 3-37 (Kuruppu 5); 4-52 (Gurusinha 42); 5-68 (de Silva 2); 6-78 (Tisserana 20); 7-98 (Ratnayake 52); 8-119 (Ratnayake 52); 9-142 (Stewart 7); 10-158 (Stewart 36); 11-178 (Stewart 36); 12-200 (Stewart 36); 13-220 (Stewart 36); 14-240 (Stewart 36); 15-260 (Stewart 36); 16-282 (Stewart 113 not out).

INTERMEDIATE SCORES: Second day, 49 min (3.3 overs). Close 752 (Mahamaya 68, de Silva 42 in 14 overs). Third day, 100 min (2.1 overs). Close 142 (Stewart 7, Gooch 48 in 14 overs). Fourth day, 100 min (2.1 overs). Close 142 (Stewart 7, Gooch 48 in 14 overs). Fifth day, 100 min (2.1 overs). Close 142 (Stewart 7, Gooch 48 in 14 overs).

UNRECORDED: D B P Kuruppu, 12.50; 1.35, 2.05, 2.35, 3.05, 4.00, 4.30, 4.40, 4.50, 5.00, 5.10, 5.20, 5.30, 5.40, 5.50, 6.00, 6.10, 6.20, 6.30, 6.40, 6.50, 7.00, 7.10, 7.20, 7.30, 7.40, 7.50, 8.00, 8.10, 8.20, 8.30, 8.40, 8.50, 9.00, 9.10, 9.20, 9.30, 9.40, 9.50, 10.00, 10.10, 10.20, 10.30, 10.40, 10.50, 11.00, 11.10, 11.20, 11.30, 11.40, 11.50, 12.00, 12.10, 12.20, 12.30, 12.40, 12.50, 13.00, 13.10, 13.20, 13.30, 13.40, 13.50, 14.00, 14.10, 14.20, 14.30, 14.40, 14.50, 15.00, 15.10, 15.20, 15.30, 15.40, 15.50, 16.00, 16.10, 16.20, 16.30, 16.40, 16.50, 17.00, 17.10, 17.20, 17.30, 17.40, 17.50, 18.00, 18.10, 18.20, 18.30, 18.40, 18.50, 19.00, 19.10, 19.20, 19.30, 19.40, 19.50, 20.00, 20.10, 20.20, 20.30, 20.40, 20.50, 21.00, 21.10, 21.20, 21.30, 21.40, 21.50, 22.00, 22.10, 22.20, 22.30, 22.40, 22.50, 23.00, 23.10, 23.20, 23.30, 23.40, 23.50, 24.00, 24.10, 24.20, 24.30, 24.40, 24.50, 25.00, 25.10, 25.20, 25.30, 25.40, 25.50, 26.00, 26.10, 26.20, 26.30, 26.40, 26.50, 27.00, 27.10, 27.20, 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Christopher Price calls for integrated vocational and academic qualifications to replace A-levels and David Tytler analyses the GCSE results

High-flyers' exam is a peak too far

Tens of thousands of A-level candidates know the worst. Those who did well go on to their higher education course and those who did badly will convince themselves - quite wrongly - that they are failures. Most of those who embark on A-levels are intelligent students capable of going on to some form of higher education. Yet, of those who start, 39 per cent drop out or fail. It cannot be a sensible way of training our young to compete in the world in skills, knowledge and capability.

The reason they drop out is not because they cannot learn but because they have no taste for the A-level academic approach; all too often they fail to switch to a more sensible course because no one can explain the jungle of alternative qualifications. As a result, far fewer British youngsters stay in full-time education than in European competitors, such as France and Germany, and far fewer end up with qualifications.

I was a member of a group, including some non-party members, set up by the Labour party, which identified the power of A-levels and the lack of familiarity with comparable vocational examinations in the 17 and 18-year-old qualifications market as the cause of this high drop out rate after 16. We were faced with a paradox in government policy.

Over the past decade examinations for 16-year-olds have been reformed and GCSE has produced a great leap forward in participation rates; the same is beginning to happen in higher education and the government has properly set itself a target of one youngster in every three in higher education by the end of the century.

But, in spite of every education and training body in Britain - from the Royal Society to the Training and Enterprise Councils - crying out for A-level reform, the government has dug its heels in.

France is attempting to provide a baccalaureat place for eight people out of ten; Germany has separate academic and vocational

qualifications. A framework of well-understood vocational courses leads most people to a skilled job and many to higher education. Both countries are fashioning qualifications to suit students and the needs of the economy.

In Britain we stick to a qualification which is wrong for most of those who sit it. Its culture of elite selection and specialisation creates low participation and low achievement for everyone else. What most pupils need at this age is a series of attainable educational targets, involving doing things as well as knowing things, which they can achieve at their own pace. Instead they are offered an all-or-nothing

within a wider system of qualifications believe that a new qualification, not so exclusively based on knowledge, will raise standards even higher; students in polytechnics are achieving these standards in spite, rather than because of, the A-level interlude in their late teens. Employers are crying out for graduates who are capable of responding to new, practical situations and who do not need retraining from scratch when they join the company.

No one is asking for a new monolithic qualification; a flexible framework need not hold back the high-flyers. One of the curses of English education since the second world war has been the habit of grouping all youngsters of the same age together and the unspoken assumption by society that if they have not achieved a particular academic standard by a particular age, they will never succeed. We are pleading for a system that can provide all students, including the high-flyers, with the proper balance between facts, skills and experience that goes to make up any good education.

In higher education, the government has backed over the past decade the view of the polytechnics that Britain can move from an elite to a mass system of higher education without any decline in standards. More is proving better. Rightly, the increasing meaningless distinction between universities and polytechnics is about to disappear and there has been scarcely a murmur in the press in opposition to the idea.

It makes no sense to remove a distinction in higher education which is rigidly maintained in further education. The new GCSE has substantially raised standards while reducing the pure knowledge content of the former O-level examination; the same effect would be observed if A-levels received the same treatment.

Christopher Price, a former Labour MP and chairman of the Commons Select Committee on Education, is the director of Leeds polytechnic.

(Male and female %, 1987-89)

Age	16-17	17-18	18-19
	M F	M F	M F
Germany	95 94	82 80	68 65
France	80 85	69 77	58 64
Britain	51 55	34 37	19 19

Source: Royal Society

	UK	France	Germany
Two or more A-levels	15	35	30
One A-level or O-levels	40	55	60
Below O-level	35	-	-
No qualifications	10	10	10

Source: CES

two year programme with no conversion this year. It has said, in its further education white paper, that it wishes to create a single "vocational" examination for 18-year-olds, which will have "parity of esteem" with A-levels. Yet as long as A-level remains in its present form as the normal form of entry to universities and polytechnics, there are very few in the world of education and training who believe that this aspiration will succeed.

The answer is not a separate vocational route; it is an integrated system of post-school qualifications, not a divided one. Those of us who want to integrate A-level



Science decline mars success

Depending on your point of view, the GCSE has either been the engine for driving up standards for teenagers who in the past would have left school without any valid qualifications, or for undermining the education of the country's most able children, leaving them less well prepared for A-levels and university.

The defenders of the four-year-old examination sprang to its aid this week as nearly 700,000 fifth formers received their results, which showed an increase in those achieving grades A to C to 49.1 per cent. There are, however, worrying drops in the numbers taking maths and science, particularly the three separate sciences, which are chosen usually by the brightest pupils.

The joint council for the GCSE said there had been a 5.9 per cent drop in those taking maths. The decline in those taking the individual sciences continued: 30.3 per cent in physics, 29 per cent in chemistry, and 27 per cent in biology. The figures mirror the drop in the numbers of A-level candidates, which fell 5.5 per cent in maths and 48 per cent in chemistry.

The sharp decline in the single

sciences is to some extent countered by the 44 per cent rise in the number who sat the single science paper. There were also significant rises in the numbers achieving Grade A in the single sciences: biology (up 2 per cent), chemistry (3 per cent) and physics (1.8 per cent). There has been an overall fall in all science entries of some 6 per cent.

David Hart, the general secretary of the National Association of Headteachers, says: "On the face of it, the drop in the numbers of pupils studying maths and particularly science in GCSE, A and AS-levels would appear to be a cause for justifiable concern, and is something we cannot afford to tolerate very much longer. If there is need for urgent action, then it should be taken."

Mr Hart says it is essential that the government resolve the apparent conflict between different science courses and introduce a single system, suitable for the most able candidates. "Otherwise we are

in danger of seeing the single sciences wither on the vine," he says.

Mr Hart remains convinced, however, that the basic form of the GCSE is the right one. "For the prime minister to talk of further reducing the amount of coursework from the present 70 per cent of the examination is policy-making on the hoof of the worst kind. This would

gravely damage the concept of the GCSE, which has contributed to raising standards, particularly among those boys and girls who would not have achieved their results under the old O-level system."

Mr Hart accepts that there are some heads, particularly in the large independent schools, who believe that it was becoming too easy for their bright pupils to obtain A grades.

"The government is going some way towards meeting them," Mr Hart says, "in allowing bright pupils to take GCSEs a year early, so that they can move a year ahead and concentrate on further ground-

ing for their A and AS-levels. There are others who believe standards are dropping in A and AS-levels and some universities are actively discussing an extra year on the traditional three-year course in maths and science. If this is the case then let us have the evidence."

Geoffrey Parker, the high master of Manchester Grammar School and this year's chairman of the Headmasters' Conference, which represents 230 of the country's leading independent schools, says: "It is right that we should improve things for the average and the below average. They have had a dirty deal in the past but I am very much concerned about what happens to those people to whom we have given a Rolls-Royce education. We must make more effort to see that that bright boys and girls at that end of the spectrum can go as fast and as far as they can. We are in danger of not doing our best for them."

Any changes to the GCSE are unlikely before 1994. Tim Eggar, the education minister, has said that he is pleased with this year's results and satisfied that standards are being maintained.

'Some pupils have had a dirty deal in the past'

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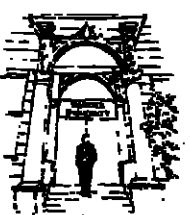
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Radio groups seek BBC enquiry

By OUR MEDIA
CORRESPONDENT

THE BBC's use of its television airtime to promote its local radio has prompted commercial radio groups to call for an immediate investigation by the Monopolies and Mergers Commission.

Invicta Radio, the Kent commercial station, has accused the BBC of distorting competition to the disadvantage of rival commercial stations that do not have access to low-cost television airtime.

The BBC, which is already being investigated by the monopolies commission for using its television airtime to promote its magazines, regularly broadcasts advertisements for its local radio stations after the *Nine O'Clock News*.

Nigel Reeve, managing director of Invicta, said: "To buy airtime on TV would cost us £135,000 a month. That's £1.35 million a month to buy nationally. And while local newscasters on the BBC can read promos, ITC regulations prohibit Trevor MacDonald from reading live ads on *News at Ten*."

Mr Reeve, who is spearheading a campaign backed by eight radio groups, including Crown Communications, said he has taken legal advice. Solicitors have told him the



Spearheading campaign against BBC promotion of local radio: Nigel Reeve, managing director of Invicta

BBC practice breaks the 1990 Competition Act.

He said: "It would cost us over £12 million a year to buy the ad time that follows the BBC East local news. Our promotional budget is only £250,000 and it was chopped earlier this year because of the

recession. The BBC are totally out of order."

Peter Lilley, the secretary of state for trade and industry, referred the BBC to the monopolies commission last May following a year-long government enquiry into cross-media promotion. The

enquiry found in favour of the rival magazine groups, such as Reed International, that had cried foul.

The BBC, which has been told by the Home Office that it must raise £72 million a year from the commercial exploitation of its assets,

said yesterday that its promotion trails were part of its public service broadcasting remit.

A spokesman for the corporation said: "We believe we are providing an important service to our audiences."

Television companies can survive loss of licence to print money

While the ITC

decides who wins

the franchise

race, Melinda

Wittstock looks

at the likely fate

of the losers

LOSS of a commercial television franchise used to mean certain death. Those who lost the licence to print money lost their right to exist, with the appointment of a liquidator.

Falling share prices and faltering morale at those ITV companies thought to have bid the lowest for the new Channel 3 licences suggests little has changed since the last franchise round in 1980.

But this time there is life after death. Losers, no longer obliged to sell their facilities to their replacements, can go on making programmes as independents, selling their wares to the central scheduler or to Channel 3's main competition.

And, if they still feel programme making without broadcasting is like being in a coma, they can take over a winning Channel 3 company come 1994 when takeover restrictions are jettisoned. Or, they can bid for the new Channel 5.

Smaller ITV companies, worth little more than the break up value of their assets, can merge with bigger players.

A horde of consultants, accountants and corporate financiers are already poised to advise losers and some say they have already had discreet

soundings from a few of the more vulnerable incumbents. Serious advice-taking will begin in late October when the Independent Television Commission ends its deliberations.

Paul Styles, at KPMG Peat Marwick McLintock, the accountant, said: "There will be pressure from shareholders to liquidate. But companies will be advised to hang on to realise maximum assets."

Robin Foster, at the National Economic Research Association said turning from broadcaster to programme maker was not the end of the world as long as a company could capitalise on its programme-making skills.

"Some may even be in a better financial position without having to pay a massive cash bid to the Treasury each year."

But it is the larger ITV companies, such as Thames and Granada, with top ten rated programmes, which are in the best position to take advantage of the government's provision that 25 per cent of output on the main BBC and ITV channels be independently made by the start of 1993.

If Granada, out-bid by North West Television by as much as £15 million, were to lose its franchise after 30 years, it could sell *Coronation Street* and other programmes to the central scheduler, the BBC or British Sky Broadcasting, in which it has a 12 per cent stake. The BBC already buys its *What The Papers Say*.

Thames, also out-bid, could emerge the largest independent UK producer, using its Euston Films to out-class Zenith, the part-owned production arm of Carlton Communications, the probable winner of the London weekday licence. Thames could go on selling *Minder*, *The Bill* and others to whichever station pays the most.

Thames Television International, the distribution arm and keeper of a programme library valued at £30 million, could become a leading international player by offering minority stakes to other producers or by merger.

Thames, which owns a 10 per cent stake in SES Astra, the Luxembourg satellite company used by BSkyB, also retains options on two Astra transponders, which it could rent for about £3.5 million a year.

Mr Foster said: "Satellite will not exactly be a big money spinner in the next five years, so the Astra option should be a long term option." And Mr Styles suggested: "Perhaps in the short term it should conserve its resources and come back with a takeover of a Channel 3 company in 1994."

Both consultants agree that Thames' future, should it lose its licence, depends on the will of Thorn EMI, its majority shareholder. As the October franchise deadline grows nearer, there is a growing feeling that Thorn believes

Thames will have a healthy future, with or without a licence. Mr Styles said: "They bought Thames cheap. With the obvious synergies between Thorn EMI's growing music library and television production, perhaps it will realise it is better to stay and build up the company."

LWT, thought to have been out-bid by London Independent Broadcasting, the consortium of independent producers backed by PolyGram, could also go it alone as an independent, having "golden-handcuffed" all its main talent.

Cilla Black, Hale and Paoc and Melvyn Bragg — to its fortunes. In re-naming its South Bank headquarters last April the London Television Centre, it can also rest assured that the capital's large number of independent producers will queue up to use its studios.

ITV-AM loses its franchise it could join a consortium bidding for Channel 5 as its news provider. "Sky news may also need a partner," Mr Styles said.

However, to succeed without advertising revenue in a brave new world of broadcasting will require a complete change in management attitudes. Mr Foster said: "Thames and Granada, they're not used to competition in network supply, they will need to adjust the way they operate. They may need to form liaisons with others in Europe to bring in such expertise."

Being forced out of broadcasting would save Thames as much as £40 million a year in bid payments, about £26 million in advertising revenue payments, about £48 million in Channel 4 subscriptions and about £10 million in transmitter costs. Analysts suggest that without cutting back much on programme making and programme acquisitions — £170.9 million

"Turning from broadcaster to programme maker is not the end of the world"

last year — it would not be impossible to match last year's £16 million profit.

While there might be life after death for any of the "big five" companies that lose, health will not be assured for the small and medium ITV companies that rarely, if ever, contribute to the £450 million ITV national network. "Without advertising revenue and a programme library, companies such as Tyne Tees, Ulster, and TSW are worth little more than the break up value of their assets," Jane Ascombe, media analyst at BZW, believes.

However, there isn't much downside risk for existing shareholders. Neil Blackley, of James Capel, reckons ITV shares are already trading at or below net asset values.

Thames, at 193p, has an asset backing of between 200p and 230p. Shares in TVS, at 27p, are lower than a discounted net asset backing of 38p.

But whatever the results in October, licences to print money will have become extinct, both for the winners who have had to bid high to secure a licence, and for the losers, who must undergo some dramatic changes to ensure all is not lost.



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Thames has Arthur Daley and his new minder to offer

S&P puts Eagle Star on creditwatch after loss

By NEIL BENNETT, BANKING CORRESPONDENT

STANDARD & Poor's, the debt rating agency, is considering downgrading Eagle Star, the insurer, after the £189 million loss the group announced on Thursday.

S&P said it had placed Eagle Star, which currently has a high 'A' rating, on creditwatch with negative implications, and was planning to meet the insurer's manage-

ment to discuss the losses. A report from S&P said that Eagle Star's losses were far higher than expected.

The report added that Eagle Star's rate increases would not be reflected in the results until 1993, and that the group's solvency margin had plunged from 99 per cent to 57 per cent in the past two years.

هكذا امن الأصل

MONDAY AUGUST 26 1991

NMC fails in bid for API

NMC has failed in its £32.8 million bid for API, a rival packaging group. By Saturday's final deadline, only 23.2 per cent of API shareholders had accepted NMC's all-share offer (Matthew Bond writes).

NMC's failure brings to an end an acrimonious battle, which has seen the trading records of both companies come under attack. Norman Gordon, NMC's chief executive, said: "It has been a hard battle. We have lost and accept the decision of API's shareholders, although we continue to believe that our offer represented the best alternative for the future of API."

The bid's likely failure was signalled late last week when M&G Investment Management and Scottish Amicable, which together own 21 per cent of API, made it clear they would not accept the bid.

In the six months to March, API reported a pre-tax loss of £849,000, but, as part of its successful defence of the NMC bid, forecast a return to profit in the second half of not less than £1.5 million.

NMC also made much of the resignation in March of Adrian Missenden, API's chief executive, and the retirement of Charles Rawlinson as chairman.

NMC's own record, however, was not over impressive. This, given that no cash alternative was introduced for ordinary shareholders, may have proved decisive.

NMC's results for the year to end-March showed pre-tax profits down 27 per cent to £7.4 million.

THE POUND

CHANGE ON WEEK
US dollar
1.6750 (+0.0130)
German mark
2.9321 (+0.0053)
Exchange index
90.5 (+0.2)

Bank of England official
close (4pm)

STOCK MARKET

FT 30 share
2069.3 (+27.4)
FT-SE 100
2640.7 (+19.7)
New York Dow Jones
3040.25 (+72.23)
Tokyo Nikkei Avge
22065.34 (-749.03)

Banking authorities fear 'passing off'

'Banks' listed in Grenada cause alarm

By TONY HETHERINGTON

BANK of England officials and investigators from the United States Treasury Department are expressing concern over the sudden appearance of about 80 companies, all with the word "bank" in their name, but none of which is licensed to conduct banking business.

Many bear names so close to those of legitimate banks as to defy coincidence. The companies have absolutely no links to their better known, and legitimate, namesakes.

The companies were registered en masse on the Caribbean island of Grenada, in a clear bid to beat the enactment of laws that came into force last month. The island's new Banking Act brings it into line with the United Kingdom and most commercially developed nations, by placing strict controls on companies wishing to call themselves banks.

Businesses that beat the deadline include the British Bank of the Orient Limited, the Chartered Bank of London Limited, and the Sterling Bank & Trust Limited. More ambitiously, promoters have also registered the European Investment Bank Limited, and the World International Bank Limited.

Company records on Grenada show that all these companies have a capital of \$675,000, divided into 67,500 shares of \$10 each. In each case, however, only two

shares, worth \$20 in total, have actually been issued, placing the "banks" among the most under-capitalised in the world.

A spokesman for the US Treasury Department in Washington said that evidence was already available that the Grenada companies were being passed off as genuine banks.

He said: "We have knowledge of eight or nine of them that have been found to be conducting illegal banking business in the United States." The business conducted involved the issuing of false letters of credit or worthless certificates of deposit.

The Bank of England said it was aware a problem existed, and the situation was being kept under scrutiny. "We can only really get to grips with it if someone tries to set up here, taking deposits in the United Kingdom, and that is something we are on the lookout for," an official said.

Grenada has no banking authority of its own, but falls within the area covered by the Eastern Caribbean Central Bank. Errol Allen, deputy governor of the central bank, said he was not aware that any of the Grenada-registered companies were acting as illegal banks. If they were, he said, it was for the Grenada government to take action.

Many of the companies that can be identified as using the word "bank", but which do not hold a banking licence,

were formed by EC Wilkinson, a Grenada barrister, and Dorothy Hypolite, his secretary.

Mr Wilkinson, nominal owner of the Commonwealth Bank Limited and the Yamasu International Bank Limited, among many others, said he could not explain what use might be made of a company that was described as a bank. "That is out of my hands. I have no responsibility," he said.

Mr Wilkinson said company names had been submitted to him by a client, who asked that he arrange for them to be registered. He identified his client as Jerome Schneider of California.

Mr Schneider has been identified by central bank regulators as a vendor of banks, usually with a licence. In 1989, he was linked to the Montserrat banking affair. It was found that the West Indian island state had 300 banks, one for every 40 residents.

WFI Corporation, a Beverly Hills company headed by Mr Schneider, sold Montserrat bank licences for \$29,500 each. Some were later used by their purchasers for fraudulent purposes.

According to the US Treasury, Mr Schneider has been offering for sale the Grenada companies formed for him by Mr Wilkinson. The advertisement in *The Wall Street Journal* priced the companies at \$7,500.

Pakistan may alter BCCI rule

From REUTERS IN KARACHI

SARTAJ Aziz, the Pakistani finance minister, said his government was likely to raise the 20 per cent withdrawal limit for customers of the collapsed Bank of Credit and Commerce International.

Mr Aziz said: "If there is any delay in the settlement of BCCI's affairs, Pakistan is

likely to increase the 20 per cent withdrawal limit."

Pakistan imposed the limit on withdrawals after the bank's operations were closed in many countries early last month amid allegations of widespread fraud.

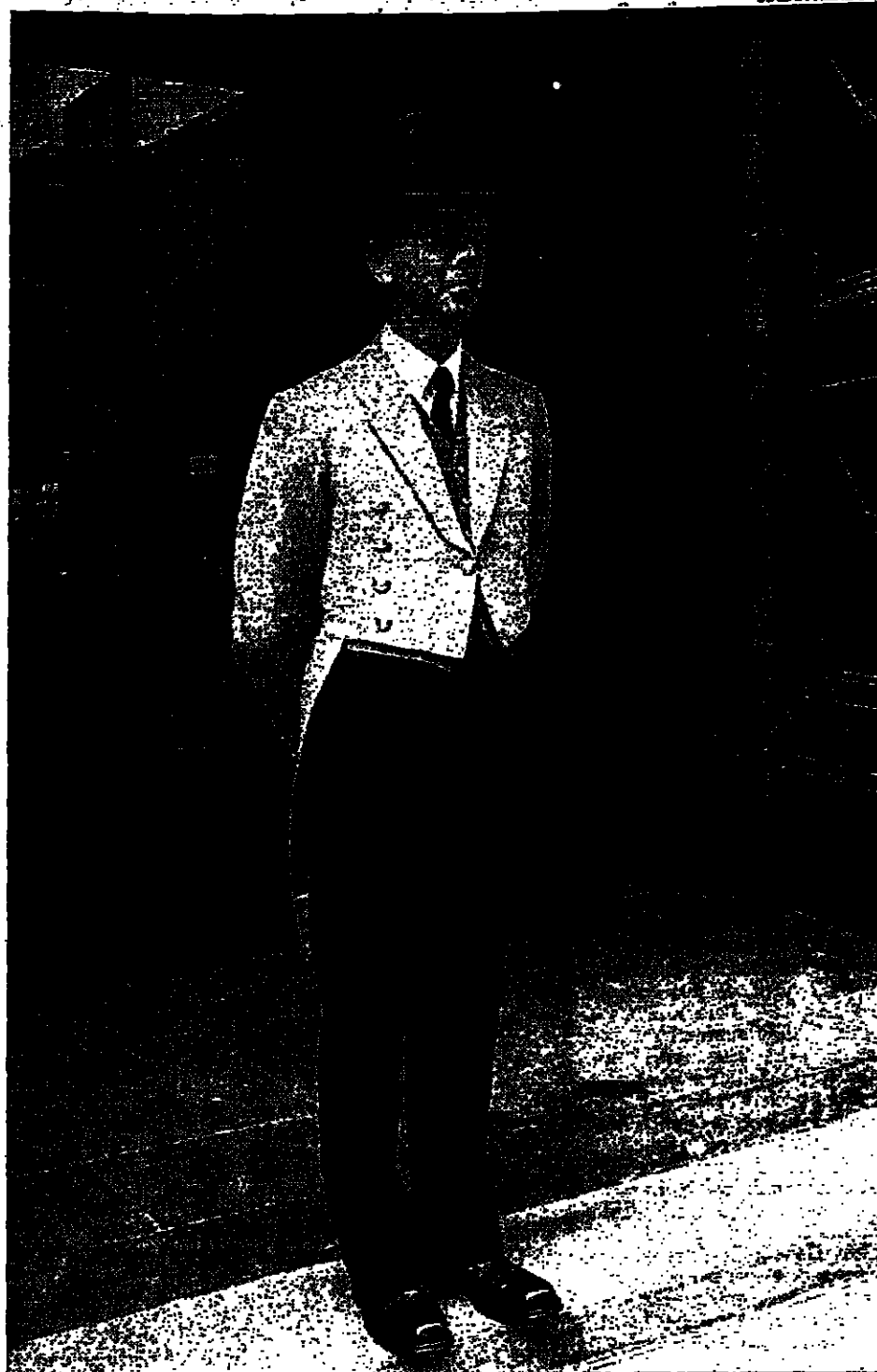
The government has allowed BCCI branches in

Karachi, Lahore and Rawalpindi to continue to operate. Mr Aziz said BCCI's liquidity position in Pakistan was good.

Pakistan is awaiting a further communication from the Bank of Credit and Commerce International, which is based in Abu Dhabi and which has shown interest in buying BCCI's Pakistan operations.

BCCI employees in Pakistan said they wanted to buy the bank with the help of customers.

Khalid Hassa, BCCI's country treasury manager, said: "An overwhelming majority of the Pakistan-based employees of BCCI Pakistan have already signed a confirmation of support in favour of the proposed takeover."



In the pink: Alan Stanning, gatekeeper at the Bank museum, awaits his customers

Bank that opens on bank holidays

The Old Lady lifts her veil

By NEIL BENNETT, BANKING CORRESPONDENT

THE NATION'S financiers may have flocked to the shores for the bank holiday, but there is one bank in the City that is still open for business.

The Bank of England's museum is open throughout the bank holiday and keen to attract any visitor who prefers learning the history of M&O and the base rate to lying on the beach or mowing the lawn. So keen, in fact, that it is advertising on the underground and local radio that the Old Lady of Threadneedle Street is happy to receive guests free of charge.

Casual observers may find it odd that anyone would want to spend their holiday delving into the arcane operations of Britain's central bank. The Bank says, however, that it opened the museum in 1988 after overwhelming public demand, and it now attracts 100,000 visitors a year.

For three centuries, the Bank of England was allowed to go about its tasks of banking

supervision and the implementation of monetary policy unhindered. The only potential visitors had an unhealthy interest in the vaults, and were generally repelled.

In the Eighties, however, the emergence of Thatcherism, privatisation and the rise in financial awareness led to the Bank being inundated by letters and telephone calls asking for information. Today, the bank employs six staff to answer the tens of thousands of letters it receives each year.

For many, however, a letter is not enough, so the Bank decided reluctantly to open its doors to the public. The museum's chief attraction is its setting. It is housed in the Bank of England's former stock office, built by Sir John Soane in 1793.

The Bank of England was generally considered to be Sir John's finest project and, like other great British architectural works, was pulled down

in the 1920s. In the early Eighties, the Bank of England was seized by a fit of guilt over the loss of this masterpiece so it decided to recreate one of Sir John's banking halls and open it to the public.

The museum houses models of clips at work, and a banknote collection, and charts the history of banking from tally sticks through to modern computer dealing desks. The rooms are guarded by the Bank's famous pink-coated gatekeepers.

Souvenir hunters will not leave empty handed. The Bank stocks memorabilia, including tie clips, mugs and chocolate bars cunningly disguised as gold ingots. T-shirts bearing the image of Robin Leigh-Pemberton, the present Governor of the Bank of England, are, unfortunately, not yet on offer.

The Bank of England Museum, Threadneedle Street, London EC2 (recorded information on 071 601-5792).

Rolls pins hopes on US order

By ROSS TIEMAN
INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT

ROLLS-ROYCE is hoping to win an order from American Airlines for engines to power up to 50 Boeing 777s after being spurred by British Airways which on Wednesday ordered General Electric power plants for its Boeing 777s.

The BA decision set aside decades of loyalty to Rolls-Royce, which admitted "great disappointment".

Some analysts now believe, however, that competition from GE to provide engines for American's long-haul, twin jet 777s may be reduced because of the high costs and risk it assumed to obtain a launch contract from BA.

Rolls-Royce's chances will also be improved by the success of two of its engines already in service with American. Robert Baker, American's vice-president in charge of operations, has described the purchase of Rolls engines for his company's Boeing 757s as "the best engine adoption we have ever undertaken".

Selling engines for a new aeroplane is a multibillion dollar game. Manufacturers often have to sell unproven engines worth up to £7 million each to power an aircraft that is not yet flying, and make a profit. Rolls-Royce, the world's No 3 jet engine maker, has more to lose than Pratt & Whitney and General Electric, its American rivals. Yet to compete in the big league, Rolls-Royce also has to offer an engine for every new aircraft type at the outset. The high cost of developing engines means that each manufacturer has to secure orders when the plane is launched.

The battle for launch orders on the Boeing 777 is especially fierce because the twin-jet is the only completely new aircraft that the American plane maker will introduce before the end of the century.

Pratt & Whitney, which is developing an existing engine for the 777, is already home and dry with an order from United Airlines. Rolls-Royce, which is uprating its Trent engine for the 777, looked a natural for the BA order. But GE, offering an all-new engine, scooped: Rolls-Royce and simultaneously agreed to buy BA's engine overhaul facility near Cardiff for the high price of £272 million.

Chris Avery, of Smith New Court, the broker, said: "GE is now under tremendous pressure to develop an engine which meets some performance guarantees which must have been given to British Airways. Rolls-Royce is under pressure to price very, very competitively to win an order from American Airlines. But Rolls-Royce has been third before and has still come up with a one-third market share on the Boeing 747-400."

Rolls-Royce will not sell engines at a loss. A large order would have the attraction of providing strong profits in the future from the sale of spare parts, which, over an engine's lifetime, may amount to several times its original cost.

GE Aircraft Engines, which has pumped \$1.5 billion into the GE90, meanwhile, expects 2,500 twin-engine aircraft will need 6,000 engines over the next 20 years with an estimated market value of \$50 billion.

There are still orders to be had on engines for 23 more Boeing 777s. Thai International has bought six, Euralair, the French airline, has bought two, and 15 are ordered by All Nippon Air. Boeing says none has yet chosen an engine.

ITV networking to be opened up

By MELINDA WITTSTOCK, MEDIA CORRESPONDENT



Grade: price sensitive

THE networking of ITV programmes to the 15 regional companies is to be opened up to public scrutiny by the Office of Fair Trading.

The OFT believes that a new central scheduling system for ITV, which abolishes programme supply guarantees for all 15 companies, should be made public.

Channel 3 licensees will no longer be able to carry out commissioning and scheduling "behind closed doors". Peter Morris, of the OFT, told ITV executives at the Edinburgh television festival.

The OFT, which must ensure that new networking

arrangements are fair, open and competitive, will also ask all interested parties - including viewers - to comment during next February. "Now is the time for a radical rethink and it must be done in the open," Mr Morris said.

Winners of the Channel 3 licence auction have only until January 31 to agree to a system that ends the conflict of interest between programme supply and scheduling. If they cannot, the Independent Television Commission will impose the new system. The OFT has until July to ensure the new pricing policy is market-driven. Mr Morris

told executives that the OFT would not allow them to prevent direct independent access to the central scheduler.

However, TV executives question the wisdom of publishing programme prices. Michael Grade, Channel 4's chief executive, said such information would be "commercially price sensitive". Granada responded: "Mr Morris is not blinkered by too much knowledge of the TV industry. There is a danger that market rates for programmes might price television to oblivion."

Loss of licence, page 32

Black looks in Australian press battle

By ANGELA MACKAY

CONRAD Black, chairman of Hollinger, the Canadian media group that owns *The Daily Telegraph*, made a lasting impression on Australians during a visit to discuss his joint bid with Kerry Packer for the Fairfax newspaper group.

As he was leaving, Mr Black was asked for his impressions of the country. He replied that it was just fine, but he did not see any reason to return.

While the man may be respected for speaking his mind, those in the federal government preoccupied with making a decision about who should end up with the lion's share of Australia's quality press must be hoping that Mr

Black was joking, because serious money is involved in buying Fairfax from its receivers.

The company owes banks Aus\$1.3 billion (£610.33 million) and American junk bondholders about US\$450 million. Likely bidders must be able to demonstrate a plan to clear some of the debt, either by asset sales or cash injection, and undertake to refinance the group.

In the running, alongside Messrs Packer and Black's Tourang group, are Tony O'Reilly, the Irish media owner and the chairman of Heinz, who is in league with some of the old guard Fairfax family; Jamison Group, a consortium backed by some former Fairfax executives; and Australian Independent Newspapers (AIN), a

consortium backed by some of the country's biggest institutions.

AIN emerged as the frontrunner last week when three of Australia's institutional heavyweights - AMP, National Mutual and Bankers Trust Australia - pledged their conditional support. AIN has the added advantage of saving the government from grappling with the tricky questions of foreign and cross-media ownership, two topics that have been a bugbear since the Hawke administration assumed power in 1983.

On the other hand, American junk bondholders, who are suing Fairfax for Aus\$550 million and could hold the balance of power, have committed themselves to Tourang.

Malcolm Turnbull, the Australian

lawyer who thwarted Margaret Thatcher's government in the notorious *Spycatcher* case, is representing the bondholders.

Fairfax became embroiled in this undignified auction after a takeover in 1987 by Warwick Fairfax, then aged 26 and studying at Harvard. He bought out the rest of his family and minority shareholders for Aus\$2.1 million. Initially, his family opposed the takeover but, after the 1987 stock market crash, when Fairfax's shares dropped Aus\$5 below the offer price, their resistance vanished and the Fairfax group was set on its doomed course.

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